

Two ablaut patterns must be distinguished: proterodynamic and hysterodynamic. There are only few traces of the third type, the static inflection.

The two types can be characterized as follows:

prot. <i>CeC-u-s</i>	hyst. <i>CeC-u-s, -ōu(-s)</i>
<i>CeC-u-m</i>	<i>CC-eu-m</i>
<i>CC-ou-s</i>	<i>CC-u-os</i>
<i>CC-eu-(ei)</i>	<i>CC-u-ei</i>
<i>CC-eu-(eh)</i>	<i>CC-u-eh</i>
<i>CC-ēu</i>	<i>CC-eu(-i)</i>
<i>CeC-eu-es</i>	<i>CeC-eu-es</i>
<i>CeC-u-ns</i>	<i>CC-eu-ns</i>
<i>CC-eu-om</i>	<i>CC-u-om</i>
<i>CC-u-bhi</i>	<i>CC-u-bhi</i>

Essential is the form of the suffix. The proterodynamic type had zero grade in NAs, full grade in the rest of the singular. The hysterodynamic type had full grade in As, zero grade in the other oblique cases; the nominative had originally zero grade, later (but still in PIE) a lengthened grade (without *-s*). In the plural it seems that the nominatives were identical. In the hysterodynamic accusative the zero grade suffix was introduced in Indo-Iranian (though perhaps not in all instances).

The ablaut of the root has mostly been eliminated. Clear remains are:

prot. <i>h₂oi-u</i> /āyu/	hyst. <i>*pont-ēh(-s)</i>	LAv. <i>pantā</i>
<i>h₂i-eu-s</i> /yauš/	<i>*pont-eh₁-m</i>	LAv. <i>pantam</i>
<i>h₂i-eu-ei</i> /yavai/	<i>*pnt-h₁-os</i>	/paθah/

The static inflection had the accent on the root throughout, and zero grade of suffix and ending. Thus:

nom. <i>CéC-r</i>
acc. <i>CéC-r-m</i>
gen. <i>CéC-r-s</i> , etc.

14. The endings

Here only the general endings are given. Special forms are discussed in the relevant sections. Where the forms agree with the Sanskrit ones, no comment is given. Questions of ablaut are treated with the separate classes.

	Skt.	GAv.	written
sg. nom.	<i>-s, -ø</i>	<i>-s, -ø</i>	<i>-s, -ø</i>
acc.	<i>V -m</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-m</i>
	<i>C -am</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>-ām</i>

gen.	-as	-ah	-ō, -ā
	-s	-s	-s
abl.			
dat.	-e	-ai	-ōi, -ē
instr.	-ā	-ā	-ā
loc.	-ø, -i	-ø, -i	-ø, -ī
voc.	-ø	-ø	-ø
pl. nom.	-as	-ah	-ō
acc.	-as	-ah	-ō
gen.	-ām	-aṛam	-am
dat.a.	-bhyas	-byah	-byō
instr.	-bhis	-biś	-biś
loc.	-su	-su	-sū
du.n.a.v. m.f. C-st.	-ā, -au	-ā	-ā
	i-st.	-ī	-ī
	u-st.	-ū	-ū
	ī-st. ¹	-ī	-ī
	ā-st.	-e	-ē
	a-st.	-ā, -au	-ā, -ā?
ntr. C-st.	-ī	*-ī	*-ī
	a-st.	-e	--
d.i.a.	-bhyām	-byā	-byā
gen.	} -os	-ṛāh	-ā
loc.		-au	-ō

Singular

In the endings as such there are no peculiarities. Details are discussed in the relevant sections.

Plural

Gen. On /-aṛam/ see IV 53.3.

Instr. The ending is always written with long *i*, but it does not seem probable that it was in fact long.

Dual

While the endings of singular and plural agree exactly with those of Sanskrit, the dual shows a number of differences.

Nom. -āh (written -ā) occurs only once (**varnāh* 30.2b) and very rarely in LAv. It is therefore more likely that it is an error for -ā. In GAv. we find no ending which would correspond to Skt. -au < *āu. The neuter

¹ Type *devī*

consonant-stem ending *-ī* can be inferred from *ašibya*, which must have *-i-* from the nom.du.

Gen. The Avestan form *-āh* < **-ās* can correspond with OP *gaušāyā*, *ušiya*. Elsewhere there is nothing comparable. The ending must have had an initial laryngeal: */manyuṛāh*, *ahuṛāh/*.

Dat.-instr.-abl. OP too has no nasal, *-biyā*, but LAv. *brvat-ḡyam* has one. The nasalization of Old Irish *-b* points to the original presence of a nasal there too. Perhaps the two forms existed side by side.

Loc. Av. */-aul*, Skt. *-os* < **-aus*.

2. The inflection

In the following sections the inflection of the different stem classes is given. All case forms found in the Gathas and the Yasna Haptanghaiti are illustrated.

With every stem class *all* words belonging to it are given. They are given in retrograde alphabetic order (according to the Latin alphabet). The meanings given are just meant to identify the word; they do not present a deliberate choice of the author (except for a few cases) but are those of Humbach or Insler. A few forms of which the interpretation is quite desperate are left out.

2.1. Root nouns

The following root nouns are found in Gathic.

masc.	fem.	ntr.	adj.
<i>k/c vāc-</i> voice			<i>ānušac-</i> standing after YH <i>artahāc-</i> companion of Ar YH <i>suc-</i> shining
<i>g/j usij-</i> priest	<i>buj-</i> expiation <i>druj-</i> deceit		
<i>t</i>	<i>šnut-</i> satisfaction <i>stut-</i> praise	YH <i>ast</i> bone	<i>vayubrt-</i> woeful
<i>d švid-</i> milk	<i>sprd-</i> zeal <i>urd-</i> increase <i>išud-</i> granting of power	<i>zrd-</i> heart	<i>frād-</i> furthering <i>?vid-</i> sharing
<i>p</i>	<i>ap-</i> water <i>kṛp-</i> form		
<i>s</i>	YH <i>nās-</i> obtaining <i>vis-</i> village		
<i>z</i>	<i>varz-</i> invigoration <i>drz-</i> shackle		

š	iš strength drš- outrage	aš- eye yauš- life āh- mouth	ahumbiš- world-healer
m	dam- house zyam- winter		
n			sarjan- breaking protection vrθramjan- victorious
r	gar- song sar- union		
aɔ	ādaɔ oblation		cagdaɔ- granting a gift mazdaɔ- wise zrazdaɔ- faithful yauždaɔ giving life YH rāmadaɔ- giving peace YH vyādaɔ- repartition of goods yavaijiɔ- living forever yavaisuɔ- prospering forever
iɔ			
uɔ			
v	gav- cow		

The inflection of the root nouns

	stops, spirants	-r, -n	-m	-h
Ns	vāxš, drušš, drš-ca ¹	sarjā		
A	vācam, drujam, kīpam	saram	zām	
G	frādah, drujah	sarah, garah	zimah, danh	āh-ah
D		sarai, garai		
I	sucā, sprdā, drzā			āh-ā ²
L	varzi	sari YH	dām	
V	ahumbiš			
Np	išah			
A	apah, apas-ca			
G	krpaɔam YH, stutaɔam			
D	vižbyah ³ , vayubrdbyah			
I	azdbiš YH	garbiš		
L	nāšu ⁴ YH			
D	ašībya			

1. -z + s > š see IV 33b

2. written āāghā

3. written vižibyo

4. -s + s > š see IV 33b

	-aʔ	-iʔ -uʔ	-u
N	<i>mazdāh</i> , -ās-ca	<i>ržjiš</i>	<i>gāuš</i>
A	<i>mazdaʔam</i>		<i>gām</i>
G	<i>mazdaʔah</i> , -as-ca, <i>cagd-ah?</i>		<i>gauš</i>
D	<i>mazdaʔai</i>	<i>ržjiʔai</i>	<i>gavai</i>
I	<i>ād-aʔ-ā</i>		
L	<i>ād-aʔ-i¹</i>		
V	<i>mazdā</i> , <i>ādā</i>		
pl. N	<i>zrazdaʔ-ah</i>		
A	<i>vyādaʔ-ah</i> YH	<i>yavaijiʔah</i> , -suʔah	<i>gāh</i> YH
L	<i>adāhu</i> YH		
du. N			<i>gāvā</i>

1) written *ādāi*, with unoriginal -āi?

Stems in stops and spirants. The du. dat. /*ašībyā*/ must have its -i- from the du. nom. **ašī*.

Stems in -m. The As /*zām*/ has been created on the basis of Ns (LAv. *zā* <) **zāh*. This word was originally a derivative (**dhēgh-ōm*, cf. Hitt. *tēkan*), but when *dhēgh-* had become *z-* (Skt. *kṣ-*), it looked like a root noun and took -s in the Ns.

While /*danh*/ < **dan-s* is proterodynamic, /*zim-ah*/ from *zyam-* is hysterodynamic.

Stems in -aʔ. For the laryngeals see IV 53.3. /*mazdaʔ-*, *ādaʔ-*/ have -aʔ- generalized; zero grade is found in the infinitive, originally dative, /*pai*/ < **pH-ai*, and in /*cagd-ah*/ if this really was a stem in -aʔ.

Stems in -u. /*gām*/, Skt. *gām*, Gr. *bōn* must be of PIE date, from **gʷōm*. Gen. /*gauš*/ < **gʷH-ou-s*. The Ap /*gāh*/ was made after the As.

22. Stems in a PIE laryngeal

Stems with a suffix in a PIE laryngeal are continued by the *iʔ-*, *uʔ-* and *aʔ-*stems. Two words that do not fall into these categories are given here: *maz-* 'great' and *paθ-* 'path' (LAv. forms in brackets).

GAu.	Skt.	PIE
Ns (<i>maza</i>)	<i>mahān</i>	<i>meǵ-h₂</i>
A (<i>mazāntəm</i>)	<i>mahām</i>	<i>mǵ-eh₂-m</i>
G <i>mazah</i>	<i>maháh</i>	<i>mǵ-h₂-ós</i>
D <i>mazai</i>	<i>mahé</i>	<i>mǵ-h₂-éi</i>
Ip <i>mazbiš</i>		<i>mǵ-h₂-bhi</i>

Ns (<i>pantā</i>)	<i>pánthāh</i>	<i>pont-(ē)h₁</i>
A <i>paθaṛam?</i> (<i>pantam</i>)	<i>pánthām</i>	<i>pont-eh₁-m</i>
G <i>paθah</i>		<i>pnt-h₁-ós</i>
I (<i>paθa</i>)	<i>pathā</i>	<i>pnt-h₁-éh₁</i>
L <i>paθi</i>		<i>p(o)nt-eh₁(i)</i>
Np (<i>pantānō</i>)	<i>pánthāh</i>	<i>pont-eh₁-es</i>
A <i>paθah</i>		<i>pnt-eh₁-ns</i>
G <i>paθaṛam?</i> (<i>paθam</i>)	<i>pathām</i>	<i>pnt-h₁-om</i>
I <i>padbiš</i>	<i>pathíbhīh</i>	<i>pnt-h₁-bhi</i>

Both words are hysterodynamic. As in the oblique cases the laryngeal disappeared in Avestan (also before consonant, where Sanskrit has *i*), the words seem root nouns in these forms. GAv. has only such forms. /*paθaṛam*/ seems to be acc. sg., though gen. pl. is also considered. If so, GAv. generalized *paθ-*.

23. *s-stems*

Note that the words are given in retrograde alphabetic order and in phonemic transcription (see 2.).

Neuters

daṛah- gift
yaṛah- prayer
nabah- cloud
vacah- word
varcah- reputation
raucah- light
rādah- gracious disposition
vrādah- joy, bliss
cazdah-(vant-) (prudent)
augah- strength
θyajah- loneliness
namah- worship
tamah- darkness
manah- mind
rafnah- support
ainah- sin
draunah- sacrifice
raixnah- heritage
yasah-(ya- to give) prestige
rašah- damage
vaišah- decay
dvaišah- hatred

Adjectives

hudaṛah- beneficent
duždaṛah- maleficent
miθahvacah- whose words are false
ršvacah- true-speaking
dužvacah- of evil words
anaucah- inimical
vazdah- inalterable
aujah- strong
ártaṛaujah- strong through Arta
dužmanah- of evil thinking
ahmarafnah- YH having support from us
drštaṛainah- bringing visible destruction
ártacinah- YH loving Arta
hvarñah- majestic
dužvaršnah- of evil actions
huṛāpah- of good works
vasah- wishing
miθah-(vacah- whose words are) false
cagvah- giving help
gaudāyah- tending cattle
drigudāyah- YH caring for the poor
nādyah- weaker

<i>aušah-</i> destruction	<i>urādyah-</i> more joyful
<i>θvaxšah-</i> zeal	<i>vahyah-</i> better
<i>avah-</i> help	<i>svanyah-</i> holier
<i>sravah-</i> word, teaching	<i>ašyah-</i> worse
<i>savah-</i> strength	<i>mazyah-</i> larger
<i>zavah-</i> strength	<i>dužzuḡah-</i> speaking evil
<i>ayah-</i> metal, iron	<i>*fravazah-</i> YH moving
<i>cayah-</i> regard	
<i>hazah-</i> power, violence	
<i>dbanzah-</i> fullness	

Words in *-iš*, *-uš*: neuters

<i>rajiš-</i> (ḡarj-?) darkness	<i>bēduš-</i> '??'
<i>narpiš-</i> reduction	<i>krduš-</i> protection
<i>snabiš-</i> weapon	<i>hahuš-</i> profit
<i>taviš-</i> violence	<i>āzuš-</i> weakness?

Masculine and feminine:

<i>maḡah-</i> m. 'month	<i>ušah-</i> f. dawn
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The (perfect) participles in *-vah-* are given with the verb.

The inflection of the *s*-stems

	neuters	
NAs	<i>manah</i> , <i>-as-ca</i>	<i>daḡah</i>
G	<i>manah-ah</i> , <i>-as-ca</i>	<i>daḡah-ah</i>
D	<i>ainah-ai</i>	
I	<i>manah-ā</i>	
L	<i>manah-i-ca</i>	<i>yaḡah-i</i>
NAP	<i>manāh</i>	
G	<i>ainah-aḡam</i>	<i>yaḡah-aḡam</i> YH
I	<i>raucah-biš</i>	

	adjectives	comparatives
Ns	<i>vasāh</i>	<i>hudaḡāh</i> , n. <i>gaudāyah</i>
A	<i>drštaḡainah-am</i>	<i>svanyāh</i> , n. <i>vahyah</i>
G	<i>ārtaḡaujah-ah</i>	<i>nadyāh-am</i> , n. <i>vahyah</i>
D		<i>hudaḡah-ai</i>
I	<i>vazdah-ā?</i>	
Np	<i>dužv(a)ršnah-ah</i>	<i>hudaḡah-āh</i>
A	<i>dužvacah-ah</i>	
D		<i>hudaḡah-byah</i>
Nd	<i>anaucah-ā</i>	

n. *vahyāh*

	perf. participle	fem.	masc.
N	<i>vidvāh, viduś</i>	<i>uśāh</i>	<i>maḍah</i>
G	<i>viduś-ah</i>		
D	<i>viduś-ai</i>		

The inflection is exactly parallel to that in Sanskrit. We have just two forms to see that in the acc. sg. the adjectives had the short form of the suffix, the comparatives the long grade.

NAp /*manāh*/ < *-ōs; Skt. *mānāmsi* contains -*asi* < *-es-h₂ contaminated with -*ās* < *-ōs; cf. §25.

/*raucahbiś*/ is written *raocēbiś*, see II 14.8k.

The word for 'moon' has the old nom. sg. with zero grade of the suffix, **meh₁n-s* > /*maḍah*/. (The acc. was originally **meh₁n-es-m*, but here too the zero grade was introduced, Skt. *māsam*.)

/*viduś*/ probably retains the old nom. sg. of the hysterodynamic type.

24. *t-* and *nt-*stems

*t-*stems

masc.	fem.	adj.
<i>napāt-</i> grandson	<i>karpatāt-</i> karpan-hood	<i>carāt-</i> runner (?)
	<i>amrt(at)āt-</i> immortality	
	<i>harv(at)-āt-</i> health	
	<i>parvatāt-</i> eminence	
	<i>avaitāt-</i> lament, woe	
	<i>hvaitāt-</i> YH family-relationship	
	<i>kavitāt-</i> kavi-hood	
	<i>astantāt-</i> YH corporality	
	<i>hunartāt-</i> capacity, skill	

*nt-*stems

adjectives

<i>hambavant-</i> YH uniting themselves	<i>yuśmāvant-</i> like you (pl.)
<i>miḥdavant-</i> rewarded	<i>θvāvant-</i> like you (sg.)
<i>mavant-</i> like me	<i>drugvant-</i> belonging to the drug
<i>amavant-</i> powerful	<i>raucahvant-</i> YH radiating light
<i>vāstravant-</i> having meadows	<i>cazdahvant-</i> responsible
<i>zastāvant-</i> with the hand	<i>aūjahvant-</i> strong
<i>śmāvant-</i> like you (pl.)	<i>namahvant-</i> adoring

<i>ārtivant-</i> giving rewards	<i>śrīvānt-</i> YH hearing
<i>rśānvant-</i> with horses	<i>arvant-</i> rapid
<i>huḍānvant-</i> sun-like	<i>dbiśvant-</i> inimical
<i>svānvant-</i> bringing good fortune	<i>astvant-</i> bodily
<i>cinvant-</i> penitent	<i>bāzvant-</i> YH firm

The participles are given with the verb. (The substantivized /*fśuyant-*/ 'cattle-breeder', /*sauśyant-*/ 'saviour' inflect like thematic participles.)

The inflection of the *t*-stems

<i>t</i> -stems	
Ns	<i>amrt(al)ās-ca, avaitās</i>
A	<i>amrtatālam</i>
G	<i>amrtālas-ca</i>
I	<i>hunartātā</i>
L	<i>amrtāti</i>
Lp	<i>naśśu-ca</i>
Nd	<i>amrtātā</i>

<i>nt</i> -stems		
athem. partic.	them. partic.	adjectives
Ns	<i>hāns, dāvans</i>	<i>drugvāh, θuāvans</i> n. <i>astvat</i>
A	<i>yantam</i>	<i>drugvantam</i> n. <i>amaval</i>
G	<i>sauśyantah, adrujyantah</i>	<i>drugvatah</i>
D	<i>fśuyantai, hanantai</i>	<i>drugvatai</i>
I		<i>drugvatā</i>
L	<i>iśanti</i>	
Np	<i>dantah</i>	<i>drugvantah</i>
A	<i>jīvantah, rapantah</i>	<i>drugvatah</i> n. <i>miždavān</i>
G	<i>hataḍam</i>	<i>drugvataḍam</i>
D		<i>drugvadbyah</i>
I		<i>drugvadbiś</i>
L	<i>fśuyasu</i>	<i>drugvasu</i>
Gd	<i>ārtaḍauxśayantāh</i>	
static		
N	<i>stavas, vispahiśas</i>	

The thematic participles had *-ant-* throughout (except in the loc. pl.), whereas the athematic participles and the adjectives had ablaut *-ant-/at-*.

The adjectives (all in *-vant-*) had nom. /*-vāh/* < **vās*, with the exception of the comparative adjective, type *mavant-* 'like me'.

The nom. sg. in *-ans* is due to restoration of the sequence *-ts > -s*, which had become *-s > -h*. (The old form is seen in LAv. *-ō < *-ah*, with the original zero grade of the suffix of the hysterodynamic type, **-nts > *-as > *-ah*.)

The type */stavas/*, from **steu-nt-s*, continues a static inflection with the accent on the root and zero grade of the suffix throughout. It is also found with the reduplicated present *-hišas < *-si-sH-nt-s*.

25. *n*-stems

Masculines	Neuters	Adjectives
<i>manθraḍan</i> - poet	<i>dāman</i> - place	<i>namahan</i> - reverent
<i>aryaman</i> - companionship	<i>nāman</i> - name	<i>barziman</i> - YH high
<i>karpan</i> - hostile teacher	<i>rāman</i> - rest	<i>išan</i> - ntr/adj.? powerful
<i>asan</i> - stone	<i>vardman</i> - increase	<i>marlan</i> - mortal
<i>tašan</i> - creator	<i>cagman</i> - YH gift	<i>ártavan</i> - truthful
<i>uxšan</i> - bull?	<i>zaiman</i> - state of waking	<i>ciciθvan</i> - understanding
<i>ruḍan</i> - soul	<i>anman</i> - spirit	? <i>svan</i> - virtuous
<i>maḡavan</i> - adherent of Zarathustra's society	<i>dvanman</i> - cloud	<i>išvan</i> - being lord of
<i>advan</i> - road	<i>cašman</i> - eye	<i>fraxšnīn</i> - careful
	<i>(an)afšman</i> - (non-)verse?	
	<i>paθman</i> - flight	
	<i>hušaiθman</i> - good dwelling	
	<i>dbauman</i> - delusion	
	<i>šyauman</i> - action, work	
	<i>haxman</i> - community	
	<i>vrāzman</i> - bliss, grace	
	<i>usan</i> - wish	
	<i>išan</i> - ntr/adj.? impulse	
	<i>sāhvan</i> - doctrine	
	<i>mazan</i> - YH magnitude	

The inflection of the *n*-stems

-an-	-van-	-man-
Ns <i>karḡā</i> <i>ruḡā</i> <i>uxšā</i> <i>manθraḡ-ā</i> <i>advā(h)</i> <i>aryamā</i>		
A <i>ruḡānam</i> <i>advānam</i>		
G <i>manθrā-n-ah</i> <i>aryam(a)nas-ca</i>		
D <i>manθrā-n-ai</i> <i>aryamnā</i>		
Np <i>karḡānah</i> <i>ruḡānah</i>		
	<i>uxšānah</i>	
A <i>asanah</i> <i>rūnas-ca</i> <i>magaunah</i>		
D <i>magavabyah</i>		

1) Written *urvā*. The analysis is uncertain. Also */(?)r-van-/* has been proposed.

adjectives				
	-an-		-van-	-man-
Ns	n. <i>svan</i>		<i>ártlavā</i>	
A			<i>ártlavanam</i>	
G	<i>martānah?</i>		<i>ártlaunah</i>	
D			<i>ártlaunai</i>	
Np	<i>martānah</i>			
A			<i>ártlaunah</i>	
G			<i>ártlaunaḍam</i>	<i>barzimanaḍam</i> YH
I			<i>ártlavabyah</i>	
neuters				
Ns	<i>anma</i>		<i>haxma</i> YH	
G		<i>cašmanh</i>	<i>haxmanh</i>	
D	<i>anmanai</i>		<i>haxmanai</i> YH	
L	<i>anmani, usan</i>	<i>cašmani, cašmām</i>		
NAp	<i>nāmani</i> YH	<i>sāhvani</i>		
	<i>nāmām</i> YH	<i>anašmām</i>	<i>haxmām</i> YH	
		<i>afšmāni</i>		
G	<i>nāmanaḍam</i> YH			
D	<i>dvanmabyas-ca</i>			
I	<i>*nāmabiš¹</i> YH			
1. Written <i>nāmāniš</i> .				

Masculines and adjectives

Some words kept short *-an-* in the strong cases, others had *-ān-*. This may represent **-on-*, but there was a secondary extension of *-ān-* in Avestan, as is shown by */uxšānah/* as against Skt. *ukśānaḥ*. It has been assumed that *-ā-* was even introduced into the weak cases, but the only evidence would be */martānah/* 30.6c. From **advā* and */uxšā/* we have no weak cases.

The Ns */advāh/* (*advā*) is either a mistake, or due to analogy as with the adjectives in *-vant-*.

The Ap */asanah/* has *-an-*. This may be the old hysterodynamic form of the acc. pl.

/manθra-ḍā/ has gen. sg. */manθrānah/* from **manθra-ḍn-ah*.

/fraxšnī/ is nom. sg. masc. or neuter. If it is an *n*-stem (Skt. *pra-jñ-in-*), it will have *-in* < *-Hn*.

Neuters

The gen. sg. always has proterodynamic *-anh* < **-an-s*. This form had disappeared in Sanskrit.

The loc. sg. has three forms, *-an* and *-ani*, and *-ān* (**-mān* was assimilated to *-mām*). The last form is the proterodynamic one, which originally belonged to the neuter, but the more frequent form of the other type also came to be used.

In the nom. pl. the normal form is *-ān* (**-mān* became *-mām*). We have *-ani* twice and *-āni* once. LAv. has *baēvāni* and *cinmāni*. *-ān* continues PIE *-ōn*, *-ani* *-on-h₂*; *-āni* is a contamination.

The form /*svan*/ Nsn is unclear.

26. *r-* (and *r/n-*)stems

Masculines

nar- man

ātar- fire

dātar- giver

brātar- brother

θrātar- protector

abijartar- YH welcomer

ptar- father

star- star

sāstar- ruler

Feminines

dugdar- daughter

mātar- YH mother

Neuters

vadar weapon

audar cold

vazdvar mastership

sahvar teaching

huḍar sun

ayar day

azan- day

rāzar pronouncement

Adjectives

kamnānar- having few men

janar- men-killing

xrūnar- men-violating

vāstar- shepherd

patyāstar- reopener YH

hamaistar- suppressor

nainaistar- YH not despiser

θvrštar- creator

fradaxštar- teacher

stautar- singer of praises

zautar- priest

marxtar- destroyer

The inflection of the *r-* and *r/n-*stems

Masc.-fem.

Ns	<i>dātā</i>	<i>ptā</i>	<i>nā</i>	<i>ātarš</i> YH
A	<i>dātāram</i>	<i>ptaram</i>	<i>naram</i>	<i>ātrm</i>
G			<i>nrš</i>	<i>āθrah</i>
D		<i>piθrai, fθrai</i>	<i>narai</i>	<i>āθrai</i>
I				<i>āθrā</i>
V				<i>ātar</i> YH
Np	<i>marxtārah</i>		<i>narah</i>	
A		<i>mātrnš-ca</i> YH	<i>nrnš</i>	
G		<i>dugdraḍam</i>	<i>janrām,¹ straḍam-ca²</i>	
V		<i>mātarah</i> YH		

Neuters

NS	<i>rāzar</i>	<i>huḍar</i>	<i>ayar</i>	<i>vazdvar</i>
G	<i>rāzanh</i>	<i>huḍanh</i>		<i>audrš-ca</i>
Np			<i>ayār</i>	<i>sahvār</i>
G	<i>rāšnaḍam</i>			

1. Written *jānaraqm*. Cf. ch. I on 53.8c.

2. Written *strēm-cā*

The inflection of */dātā/*, with long grade in the strong forms, is the general one, as in Sanskrit.

The type *ptar-* (*brātar-*, *mātar-*, *nar-*) has *-ar-* < **-er-* in the strong cases. On the inflection of *ptar-* see IV 52.2.

The gen. sg. */nrš/* agrees with Skt. *pituḥ* < **-trs*. The ending originated in a static paradigm, e.g. **méh₂-tr-s*.

Acc. pl. */mātrnš, nrnš/* have vocalic *r*. It is written *-arqš*, *q* probably indicating nasalized *ṛ*: *-arṇš* = *-arənš* = *ṛnš*. LAv. writes *-arauš*. *-ṛns* is a static ending. LAv. *fəḍrō* contains **-rṇs*, which points to PIE **-er-ns*.

It is supposed that */ātarš/* m. originally was a neuter. The acc. */ātrm/* has *-m* added to original (neuter) **ātr*. This addition must have occurred before the development *-ṛ* > *-ar*. This development is found in the voc. */ātar/*. Therefore the nom. sg. must have been **ātrš*. The form *ātarš* shows the later development *ṛš* > *arš*. One might consider a static inflection **HéH-tr(s)*, *-tr-m*.

/huḍar, huḍanh/ are from **suH-r*, **suH-en-s*.

Plural */ayār, sahvār/* are the only forms in *-ār* in Indo-Iranian.

One neuter, */audar/*, has an *r*-stem in an oblique form, gen. */audrš/*.

The form has not been explained. An innovation is difficult to understand, as there was no model. (LAv. has gen. sg. *ātarš* < **ātrš*; that this form is recent is shown by abl. *āθrat*, as this form is always derived from the genitive; cf. *nərat*, gen. *nəraš*.) One might consider static inflection, gen. **Heloud-r-s*.

27. *i-* and *u-*stems

*i-*stems

Masculines

frādi- growth
āri- harm (?)
rši- seer
sti- m/f? possession?
asti- guest
dušsasti- false prophet
asišti-? he who orders?
d(a)ršti- m/f? sight
axti- YH disaster

Feminines

grzdi- favour
dāmi- creation
jani- woman
maini- requital
mānari- murder?; adj.?
āθri- danger
aramati- piety
tušnāmati-? silent thought?
tarahmati- insolence
parimati- pride
vratī- vow
vidāti- distribution
zrazdāti- faith
rāti- gift
ahmarāti- our gift
ajyāti- non-life
dargajyāti- long life
frayyāti- future
hujyāti- happiness
dužjyāti- illness
vasahiti- prosperity

Adjectives

dāmi- creative
varucašāni- farseeing
mānari- pious?; f.?
?dušrθri- badly kept
caxri- turning into
būri- plentiful
Zarabuštri- (descending) from Z.
visvapati- YH having drink for all
rānyaskrti- bringing joy
utayūti- enduring; f.?

jīti- YH life
hujīti- good life
aniti- bad condition
dušiti- distress
hušiti- comfort
huḍiti- easy access
āskti- connection
ārti- lot, part
fraḍrti- coming up
fravārti- YH confession of faith
ākrti- provision
humrti- good attention?
sti- m/f? possession?
avapasti- falling down
frasasti- fame
āsti- height
patyāsti- foundation (-tiḍā-?)
cisti- thought
hucisti- good thought
avisti- lack of
frašti- YH completion
išti- will
ṭvāḍišti- thy power
ādišti- instruction
d(a)ršti- m/f? sight
hamp(a)ršti- talk
ušti- wish
yaušti- YH sanctification
būšti- prosperity
asrušti- disobedience
utayūti- freshness; adj.?
zūti- call
āzuti- fat(ness)
vrāxšuxti- pleasure
āṭi- danger

Hysterodynamic are the following words:

Masculines

pati- lord

kavi- priest

raḍi- riches

ḥuzūṭi- help

Adjectives

hušaxi- friendly

manzaraḍi- granting wealth

u-stems

Masculines

vafu- secret word*ahu-* life*sanhu-* doctrine passage*hunu-* son*pasu-* cattle*ratu-* judge*xratu-* plan*gātu-* way*jyātu-* life*mantu-* advice, -ser*prtū-* m/f passage*hiθu-?* companion*pāyu-* protector*manyu-* spirit

Feminines

dahyu- land*prtū-* m/f passage

Adjectives

drigu- poor*vahu-* good*paru-* much, many*airu-* wild?*kasu-* small*āsu-* quick*hudānu-* blessed*zaišnu-* shaking*hvaitu-* from the family*huzantu-* of good lineage*prθu-* broad*dargāyu-* lasting a long time*yazu-* young*adyu-* YH not injuring*rzu-* straight

Neuter

āyu- time of life

Hysterodynamic

ahu- lord*hiθu-?* companion*dargabāzu-* with far-reaching armsThe inflection of the *i-* and *u-*stems

	proterodyn.	hysterodyn.	proterodyn.	hysterodyn.
Ns	<i>ištiš</i>	<i>hušaxā, kavā, patiš</i>	<i>xratuš, n. āyu</i>	<i>dargabāzāuš YH, ahu</i>
A	<i>ištim</i>	<i>hušaxāyam</i>	<i>xratum n. vahu</i>	
G	<i>ištaiš</i>	<i>rāyah, (pataiš)</i>	<i>xratauš yauš</i>	
D	<i>axtayai¹ YH</i>	<i>paθyai-ca²</i>	<i>hvaitavai yavai</i>	
I	<i>cistī</i>		<i>xratū yavā</i>	<i>xraθvā</i>
L	<i>ištā</i>		<i>xratāu vahāu</i>	
			<i>prlau</i>	
V	<i>aramatai</i>		<i>vahu</i>	
Np	<i>rātayah</i>	<i>kavayas-ca³</i>	<i>xratavah</i>	
A	<i>ištiš</i>		<i>xratūš vahū</i>	
G			<i>dahyunaḍam</i>	
D			<i>parubyah</i>	
L			<i>parušu</i>	
V	<i>jūlayah</i>			

Nd *aniti**manyū*

G

manyuṛāh, ahuṛāh

D

ahubyā YH

L

ahuṛau YH1: Written *axtōyōi*.2: Perhaps */uzūθyai/*3: Written *kāvayascā*

The normal paradigm is the proterodynamic one. The forms agree with those of Sanskrit. There are only few traces of the hysterdynamic type.

i-stems

/hušaxāyam/ has long grade, just as Skt. *sákhāyam*.

u-stems

The loc. sg. is not quite clear. The form in */-āu/* is parallel to the Sanskrit one. Sanskrit has also *-avi*, which is not found in Avestan. LAv. has *-ava* = *-au* + the particle *a* (like OP *-avā*). Forms in (written) *-o* are also found, possibly continuing **-au*. In Gathic we find *xratā* and *paratā*, *-ō*. It could be that the latter is a mistake for *-ā* (influence of surrounding *kāvīnō* and *zəmō*). *-ā* probably represents */-āu/*.

The gen. du. */manyu-ṛāh, ahu-ṛāh/* testifies to an ending IIr. **-Hās*.

If */ahu/* is a nom. sg., it may be an *s*-less hysterdynamic nominative. Others take it as an instr. sg. The form *hiθāuš* 48.7c has been taken as a hysterdynamic nom. sg., or corrected into */hiθauš/*, as a gen. sg.

28. *iṛ-*, *uṛ-* stems*iṛ-* stems

proterodynamic

fem.

būmiṛ- earth*kaniṛ-* girl*nāriṛ-* YH woman*manauθriṛ-* admonisher*tavišiṛ-* strength

adjectives

*vahyahiṛ-*¹ YH better*ahurāniṛ-* divine*artauniṛ-* truthful*hatiṛ-* being*vāstravatiṛ-* having meadows*aršanvatiṛ-*² with horses*šyatiṛ-* dwelling (ptc. *ši-*)*maikantiṛ-* YH glittering*hambavantiṛ-* YH uniting
oneself*vahviṛ-* good*yazviṛ-* young*aziṛ-* in milk

hysterodynamic

masc. *raθiḥ*- charioteer

uḥ-stems

proterodynamic: none

hysterodynamic

masc.

fem.

adj.

hizuḥ- tongue

tanuḥ- body

pr̥tatanuḥ- whose body is condemned

fsratuḥ- fullness?

1) Written *vahehī*

2) Written *arśnavant-*

iḥ-stems

proterodynamic

uḥ-stems

hysterodyn. hysterodynamic

Ns *vahvī*

fsratuṣ

A *vahvīm*

azīm

raθiḥam

tanuḥam

G *vahviāh*

azyāh

tanuḥah *hizuḥah* *fsratuḥah* YH

D *vahviāi*

tanuḥai

I *vahviā*

hizuḥā

V *yazvī*

Np *manauθriṣ*

pr̥tatanuḥah

A *arśanvatīṣ* *aziṣ* YH

G *nāriṇaḥam* YH

D *ṣyatībyah*

I

hizūbiṣ

L

**tanuṣu-ca*

*

Nd *taviṣī*

azī

iḥ-stems

The proterodynamic type is that of Skt. *devī*, the hysterodynamic one that of *vr̥kīḥ*.

/vahviāh/ etc. has *-i-* for *y* according to Sievers' law.

uḥ-stems

On these forms see IV 53.3 (also on an acc. */tanum/*). YH *fsratuḥ* must have *-tu(v)ḥ*, or else the *-t-* would have become a fricative.

A form *tanuṣi-ca* 43.7e has been taken as a mistake for loc. pl. *-ṣu*.

29. *ā*-stems

grbā- understanding

vananā- victory

viḥ-ā- wrapping; attention?

dayanā- vision

śardānā- adversaries

vyānā- competence

manā- YH thinking

gnā- woman

kainā- punishment*sinā-* destruction*sāsnā-* teaching*šapā-* night*aspā-* mare*urvarā-* plant*frasā-* question*vidvaišā*¹ enmity*jījīšā-* YH desire to win*sprzatā-* eagerness*rātā-* gift*haθyaurštā-* realization*gaiθā-* herd*maiθā-* change*dvaiθā-* threat*hiθā-* partner*ahvā-* life*arampiθvā-* afternoon*aganyā-* YH cow*māyā-* supernatural power*vrāzā-* joy, bliss*ižā-* offering of milkThe inflection of the *ā*-stemsNs *dayanā*A *dayanām*G *dayanayāh*D *dayanayāi*I *dayanā* *ižā*L *dayanayā* *sāsnayā* *urvāzyā* YHV *vyānayā?*V *brxθai*V *svantā*Np *dayanāh*A *dayanāh* *sāsnāh*, *-ās-*G *sāsnanaθam*D *dayanābyah* YH *vazyamnābyah*I *dayanābiš* *gaiθāhu*Nd *ubai*

On the development of the laryngeal see IV 53.3.

The gen., dat., instr., loc. sg. have *-ay-* while OP has *-āy-* and Sanskrit *-āy-* but *-ay-* in the instr. The last form is of pronominal origin, *-āy-* is not well explained. Avestan may have generalized *-ay-*, unless it is only graphic for */āy/*; cf. on the gen. pl. YH has *-y-* instead of *-āy-*, clearly from the *iθ*-stems. It is remarkable that the two forms in the YH have *-y-*, while Gathic has only *-āy-* (*manyā*, *urvāzyā*).

The loc. sg. */ayā/* could be **-aH-i* + the particle *-a* (as in LAv. *-ava* of the *u*-stems).

The voc. sg. has beside */-ai/* (only */brxθai/* 48.6b) a form in *-ā*, */svantā/* 33.13c.

1) mostly corrected into */vidvaiša-/* 'enemy'.

The gen. pl. has /-anaɖam/, where the first short -a- may be graphic for *ā*.

210. *a-stems*

Personal names have been included, pronominal adjectives have not. Words in -(i)ya are mostly of uncertain interpretation: they can have the suffix /-iɖa/ or have vocalic -i- according to Sievers' law. In the latter case the phonemic interpretation is /-ia-/, as the -y- (of -iya-) is automatic. Therefore we shall write /-i(ɖ)a-/ when we cannot decide between the two forms.

Masculines

mada- intoxicating drink

spāda- army

rāda- caretaker

vaida- acquirer, -isition

skanda- destruction

myazda- offering

maga- gift

Madyaimāha- Pn

sanha- teaching

sardi(ɖ)a-/dya-? fighter

fšānhi(ɖ)a- cultivator

vaipi(ɖ)a- PN? adj.?

napti(ɖ)a- descendant

marli(ɖ)a- mortal

marka- death

datika- YH wild animal

pasuka- YH domestic animal

rama- violence

Spitāma- PN

yama- twin

kāma- desire

rāma- cruelty

hadma- m/n? seat

grahma- PN?

vahma- glorification

dasma- veneration

aišma- cruelty

hacana- m/n? companion

Friɖana- PN

uštāna- life

rāna- thigh

yāna- entreaty?

hvafna- sleep

vadamna- bridegroom

varna- choice

vasna- will

yasna- worship

būna- ground?

Djāmaɖaspa- PN

Vištaɖaspa- PN

Haicaspa- PN

hunara- ability

javara- furtherer

zara- grace

duxšara- ?

važdra- driver

vīra- man

uštra- camel

Zaraθuštra- PN

Frašaɖuštra- PN

dāθra- bestower

miθra- contract

manθra- mantra

puθra- son

ahura- lord

frasa- question

ansa- part

vraisa- turning-point

darsa- seeing

dvafša- distress

tkaiša- false prophet; deceit

gauša- ear
srauša- obedience
zauša- pleasure
vaṇata- wind
vanta- praise
marta- mortal
zasta- hand
ansta- evil
stauta- song
dūta- messenger

kāṭha- requital
Haugua- PN
sava- m/n? salvation
zava- call
Bandva- PN
daiva- daiva
gaya- life
jaya- victory
xšaya- ruler
vāza- draught animal

Neuters

pada- foot
mižda- wages
baga- share
bāga- share
āmanaha- intention?
havapaha-? YH creative power
huṇahaviṇa- full lifetime
mrždika- mercy
hadma- m/n? seat
garma- heat
hacana- m/n? companionship
vaidana- possession
sanhana- teaching
mana- instruction?
fra(x)šnana- care
āpana- profit
vrzana- community
ādāna- portion
avahāna- stopping
dmāna- house
dyumna- glory
hākurna- association
šyauθna- work
vāra- will
sādra- injury; adj.?
vāstra- meadow
xrafstra- monster
sanstra- teaching
xšaθra- rule

svayaθra- atonement (*sp*?)
vyathra- protection
dāθra- gift
huṇāθra- happiness
raθra- support
šaiθra- dwelling-place
ciθra- seed
darθra- maintenance
carkrθra- hymn of praise
vaxθra- speech
mūθra- urine
humata- YH good thought
vrata- order
dāta- law
āyapta- riches
ārta- arta
p(a)ršta- question
huv(a)ršta- good actions
daxšta- sign
rixta- remainder
frādaθa- increase
haptaθa- seventh
mazdāθa- what should be considered
parigaiθa- transmitting herds
āhaiθa- capturing
viciθa- judgment
zanθa- birth
arθa- effort
hvarθa- food
dušhvarθa- bad food

prθa- atonement?
uxθa- word
šmaṛuxθa- your word
ržuxθa- true word
sava- m/n? salvation
ārza- good action
hauzanθva- good relation
kamnašva- small herds
xrūnya- violation
hvapaθya- authority

Adjectives

uba- both
suca- light
asanda- pernicious?
patisanda- YH welcome
vrzda- complete
darga- long
manahiṛa- spiritual
zahiṛa- risible
staumi(ṛ)a- praising
vrzaniṛa- of the community
yasni(ṛ)a- of the worship
dafšni(ṛ)a- powerless
vaipi(ṛ)a- roguish? m?
variṛa- desirable
friṛa- friendly
vāstri(ṛ)a- agricultural
išāxšaθri(ṛ)a- powerful
išiṛa- strong
āvišiṛa- manifest
vanti(ṛ)a- praising
zavištia- fastest
huṛarθi(ṛ)a- of good aim
zaviṛa- to be called
jīvi(ṛ)a- alive
parvia- first
aka- bad
ahmāka- our
šmāka- your pl.
yušmāka- your pl.
hama- same

apama- last
frašatama- most shining
svantatama- holiest
parutama- very many
hudma- sweet
dahma- pious?
rāθma- belonging to
taxma- brave
uzma- efficient
fra(x)šnana- careful
barana- bringing
hušana- giving profit
duždayana- of bad thinking
apāna- attained?
Haicataspāna- of H.
dvitāna- hateful
ustāna- stretched out
hvaina- glowing
kavina- of the kavi's
agžanvamna- undiminishing
dužvarna- choosing badly
asna- near
yāšyauθna- with what actions
duššyauθna- of evil deeds
hušyauθna- of good deeds
aruna- wild
asuna- swollen
apara- next
katāra- which of two
mazdāvara- chosen by AM.
hāra- guarding
ādra- humble
sādra- harmful; n.?
ardra- salutary
humanzdra- careful
abifra- incomparable?
ugra- strong
ahra- wicked
dahra- wise
vicira- discerning
srīra- YH beautiful
θvisra- shining

manzāxśaθra- granting power
vasasxśaθra- ruling at will
dušxśaθra- ruling badly
huxśaθra- ruling well
hušnāθra- with good bathing
ciθra- bright
dūra- far
xrūra- cruel
asūra- weak
Tūra- PN
suxra- bright
gūzra- hidden
aiśasa- wild
huṇandarsa- sunlike
fraśa- shining; healed?
aiśa- powerful
anaiśa- powerless
advaiśa- non-hostile
raṇrśa- estranged
dūrauśa- ?
hazauśa- like minded
Vivahuśa- of V.
ruśa- needy?
darsata- visible
yazata- YH venerable
nidāta- laid down
śyāta- happy
kudazāta- YH wherever born
hvaṇita- easy to travel
svanta- holy
djīarta- violating A.
hukṛta- well made
amṛta- immortal
ustānazasta- with outstretched
 hands
vista- found
manavista- ?
ahamusta- repulsive
xśusta- molten
aśta- arrived at?
fraṇiśta- stimulated
sraṇiśta- YH most glorious

zastāṇiśta- set in motion by the
 hand
aciśta- worst
vahiśta- best
aujiśta- strongest
vaidiśta- knowing best
nazdiśta- nearest
zrazdiśta- most believing
xrauždiśta- hardest
svaniśta- holiest
abibariśta- bringing good luck best
mariśta- remembering best
āsiśta- fastest
saviśta- strongest
maziśta- largest
vispa ,, ,, of all
raziśta- rightest
vrāziśta- giving greatest bliss
vāziśta- ?
barziśta- YH highest
dužv(a)rśta- of evil deeds
abidrśta- visible
uśta- (diff. interpr.)
daivazuśta- liked by the daivas
vraθa- friendly
dāθa- just
adāθa- unrighteous
hvaḡžāθa- YH rushing forth of their
 own
frādatgaiθa- furthering herds
maiθa- false
brxθa- honoured
aiva- one
jīva- alive
visva- all
rśva- high
rθva- worthy
tāya- secret
haiθahya- offering connection
miθahya- false
aujya- praiseworthy
anya- other

āhurya- YH divine
ršya- inspired
haθya- true
hvaθya- personally
ižya- YH full of strength

The inflection of the *a*-stems

Ns	<i>sanhah</i>	<i>yamas-</i>		<i>ártam</i>
A		<i>ahuram, gayam</i>	<i>šyauθnam</i>	<i>ártam</i>
G	<i>sanhahya</i>	<i>gayahya</i>		
Ab		<i>zaušāt, virāt-ca</i>	<i>šyauθnāt</i>	<i>ártāt</i>
D		<i>ahurāi,</i> <i>ahurāya</i>	<i>šyauθnāi</i>	<i>ártāi</i> <i>ártāya-ca</i>
I	<i>sanhā</i>		<i>šyauθnā</i>	<i>ártā</i>
L	<i>sanhai</i>	<i>markai-ca</i> <i>huṇāθrayā</i>	<i>šyauθnai</i>	
V		<i>ahura</i>		<i>árta</i>
Np	<i>sanhā,</i> <i>sanhāhah</i>		<i>šyauθnā</i>	
A		<i>astanh, astans-ca</i>	<i>šyauθnā</i>	
G		<i>pasukanaṇam YH</i>	<i>šyauθnaṇam</i>	
D		<i>martaibyah, dātaibyas-ca</i>		
I	<i>sanhāiš</i>		<i>šyauθnāiš</i>	
L		<i>martaišu</i>	<i>šyauθnaišu</i>	
V		<i>visvā</i> <i>spitamāhah</i>		
Nd		<i>yamā, vāzā</i>		
G		<i>rānayāh</i>		
DIA		<i>zastaibyā</i>		
L		<i>zastayau</i>		

Dat. sg. /-āi/ is the normal form, but there are some instances of /-āya/ (/ahurāya/ 29.5a, /magāya/ 29.11b, /hvarθāya/ 34.11a, /frādaθāya/ 45.9d, /vahmāya/ 46.10d, 53.2b, /vispāya/ 53.1c, 4d). These forms are written -āi.ā because scholars only knew the dat. in -āi. *Ašā yecā* must be read /ártāya-ca/ (30,1c, 51,2a). It has further been assumed in 31,16b /frādaθāya/ and 51.4a /mrždikāya/.

Nom. pl. The ending -ā is supposed to be the neuter pl. ending -ā, as a collective.

Nom. du. (ā) *varənā* 30.2b may be a mistake for -ā.

3. The Adjective

31. Introduction

As adjectives we find: 1. simple adjectives; 2. compounds; 3. participles and verbal nouns. The compounds were discussed in ch. V. There are ± 70 compound adjectives. This number may be high because of the character of the texts. The participles are given in X 15.1. Here we discuss the simple adjectives only.

32. *Inflection* The flexion of the adjectives is identical with that of the nouns with the same stem, which was given above.

33. *Stem-formation* The stem-formation will not be treated in detail. All adjectives have been given in the lists of the separate stems of the noun. The adjectives have the following stems; the formation of the neuter and the feminine is indicated. Also the number of occurrences is given. (These numbers—of the Gathas proper—are approximate because of uncertainties. Not included are: comparatives and superlatives; demonstratives, possessives and pronominal adjectives; ordinals.)

masc.		neuter		feminine	
-a	170	-a	45	-ā	24; -iṛ 1
-u	19	-u	1 + 130	-viṛ	13
-i	4	-i	1		
-nt	20	-nt	10	-atiṛ	5
-n	35			-niṛ	1
-h	2	-h	1		
-C	7				

a-stems. Three adjectives occur more than 20 times each: /parvia-, svanta-, visva-/. Of the neuter all forms except 10 are nom.-acc. sg. pl. The feminine in -iṛ is /Spitamiṛ/ 'of the Spitama-family'.

u-stems. Neuter is gen. sg. /kasauš/ and 130 forms of /vahu-/ (the high number being due to *Vahu Manah*). Feminine are /vahviṛ/ and /yazviṛ-/.

n-stems. 28 forms are from /artavan-/. Feminine is /artauniṛ-/.

s-stems are /aujah-, vasah-/; ntr. /baduš/?

Consonant-stems are /cagdaṛ-, frād-, maz-/ (on which see 22), /vid-/. Unclear is /syas-/ 32.16a.

34. *Comparison* The comparative suffix -tara- is not found. Of the superlative suffix -tama- there are only three instances. It is added to the stem.

The comparative in -yah- is well represented. (It never has the form -iah-, which was generalized in Sanskrit.) The suffix -išta- is frequent.

These suffixes were added to the root in the full grade (but *-daH-* had the form *-dH-*). Note **kuH-ró-*, **kéuH-is-*; **kriH-ró-*, *kreiH-is-*. For the flexion of *-yah-* see 23.

All forms occurring are:

<i>aka-</i> bad	<i>aš-yah-</i>	<i>ac-išta-</i>
<i>ašaujah-</i> very strong		<i>auj-išta-</i>
<i>āsu-</i> quick		<i>ās-išta-</i>
<i>mar-</i> to remember		<i>mar-išta-</i>
<i>maz-</i> big	<i>maz-yah-</i>	<i>maz-išta-</i>
<i>*asna-</i> near ¹⁾		<i>nazd-išta-</i>
<i>ādra</i> - ²⁾	<i>nād-yah-</i> weaker	
<i>rzu-</i>		<i>raz-išta-</i>
L. <i>sūra-</i> strong		<i>sav-išta-</i>
<i>svanta-</i> holy	<i>svan-yah-</i>	<i>svan-išta-</i>
<i>vahu-</i> good	<i>vah-yah-</i>	<i>vah-išta-</i>
<i>vid-</i> knowing		<i>vaid-išta-</i>
L. <i>urvād-</i> to become happy	<i>vrād-yah-</i>	
<i>vrāz-</i> to be glad		<i>vrāz-išta-</i>
L. <i>xruždra-</i> hard		<i>xraužd-išta-</i>
<i>zrazdaṛ-</i> believing		<i>zrazd-išta-</i>
L. <i>barəzant-</i> high		YH <i>barz-išta-</i>
L. <i>srīra-</i> beautiful		YH <i>sraṛ-išta-</i>
<i>bar-</i> to bring		comp. <i>abi-bar-išta-</i>
With <i>-tama-</i> :		
<i>fraša-</i> shining		<i>fraša-tama-</i>
<i>paru-</i> much		<i>paru-tama-</i>
<i>svanta-</i> holy		<i>svanta-tama-</i>

¹⁾ In the adverb */asnāt/*. *asna-* from **nsd-no-*.

²⁾ From **nh₃ dhró-*

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PRONOUN

1. Personal pronouns

The first and second persons

	'I'	encl.	'you'	encl.
N	<i>azam</i>		<i>tuḍam</i> ²	
	<i>az, as-</i>		<i>lū</i>	
A		<i>mā</i>	<i>θvaḍam</i>	<i>θvā</i>
G	<i>mana</i> ¹		<i>tava</i>	<i>tai</i>
A	<i>mat</i>		<i>θvat</i>	
D	<i>mabya(h)</i>	<i>mai</i>	<i>tabya(h)</i>	<i>tai</i>
I			<i>θvā</i> YH	
	'we'	encl.	'you'	encl.
N	<i>vayam</i> ³		<i>yūžam, yūš</i>	
A	<i>ahma</i>	<i>nāh</i>		<i>vāh</i>
G		<i>nah</i>		<i>vah</i>
Ab	<i>ahmat</i>		<i>šmat, yušmat</i>	
D	<i>ahmabya</i>	<i>nah</i>	<i>šmabya, yušmabya</i>	<i>vah</i>
I			<i>šmā</i>	

1) wr. *mā.nā* 2) wr. *tvām* 3) wr. *vaēm*

'I' /*az, as-*/ are the forms without *-am*, but there is some doubt about their interpretation. /*mabyah*/ may have *-ah* from the plural ending. *-by(a)* is taken from 'you'; Skt. *mahya* is the older form.

'you'. /*ta-bya*/ is older than Skt. *-bhyam*.

'we'. /*ahma*/ is older than Skt. *asmān*, cf. Gr. *amme* < **nsme*. /*nāh*/ is not found in Sanskrit.

'you'. The oblique stem /*šma-*/ originated from **ušma-* (see IV 631a). It is more frequent (21 ×) than *yušma-* (6 ×). Sanskrit and LAv. (but here it is very rare) have only *yušma-*, later Iranian only *šma-*. The distribution in Gathic gives no clue, except that *šma-* is the usual form (once found in Y 53; YH has neither form).

The third person

For the third person demonstratives are used.

The reflexive pronoun

No form is found in Gathic. LAv. has *xva-*.

2. Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns are:

<i>ma-</i>	<i>ahmāka-</i> , <i>na-</i> ? (45.2c)
<i>θva-</i>	<i>šmāka-</i> , <i>yušmāka-</i>
<i>hva-</i>	<i>hva-</i> (?)

Whereas the forms in *-āka-* are inflected adjectives in Gathic, LAv. only has the forms in *-ākəm*, used as genitive of the personal pronouns.

Sanskrit does not have an equivalent of *ma-* (it has *māmaka-*), from *tva-* it has only one form (*tvābhis*; and from *tāvaka-* only *tāvakébhyas*). Skt. *asmāka-* and *yušmāka-* are parallel to the Av. forms. Av. */na-/* has no parallel, */ma-*, *θva-* must be old, cf. Gr. (*e*)*mós*, *sós*.

These pronouns have the pronominal inflection:

	masc.	fem.	masc.	ntr.	fem.	masc.	fem.
Ns	<i>mah</i>		<i>θvah</i>		<i>θvai</i>	<i>hvah</i>	<i>hvai</i>
A							
G	<i>mahya</i>	<i>mahyāh</i>	<i>θvahya</i>		<i>θvahyāh</i>		<i>hvahyāh</i>
Ab			<i>θvahmāt</i>				
D	<i>mahmāi</i>		<i>θvahmāi</i>				<i>hvahyāi</i>
I	<i>mā</i>		<i>θvā</i>				
L	<i>mahmi</i>		<i>θvahmi</i>				
Np			<i>θvai</i>	<i>θvā</i>			
I						<i>hvāiš</i>	
L					<i>θvāhu</i>		

	masc.	ntr.	masc.	fem.
Np				
A			(<i>yu</i>) <i>šmākam</i>	<i>šmākām</i>
G			(<i>yu</i>) <i>šmākahya</i>	
D			(<i>yu</i>) <i>šmākāi</i>	
I			<i>šmākā</i>	
Np		<i>nā</i>		
A	<i>ahmākanh</i>			
I	<i>ahmākāiš</i>			
YH				

Nom. sg. fem. */θvai*, *hvai* < **-eh₂-i* (see IV 53.3), cf. Lat. *quae*, *hae-c*; the type is unknown in Sanskrit.

/hva-/ has pronominal inflection in */hvahyāi*/ dat. sg. fem., where Sanskrit has nominal *svāyāi*.

3. *Demonstrative pronouns*

The following stems are found:

1. /*ha-*, *ta-*/ and /*hau*, *ava-*/

/*ha-*, *ta-*/ is Skt. *sá(s) sá tád*. The nom. sg. is not found (one would expect **hā* < **ha*, **hā*, **hō* < **hah*). It is replaced by *hvō*, which must be read /*haul*. LAV. has m.f. *hāu*, OP *hauv*. This may point to an earlier m. **hau*, f. **hāu*. They may be **sa*, **sā* + *u*, or perhaps **au* with an added *s*- taken from *sa*; in the latter case **sāu* can be secondary (note that GAV. has m./*haul*, f./*hā*/).

/*ava-*/ is derived from PIE **h₂eu* as is OCS *ovъ*; Sanskrit has only gen. du. *avoh*.

2. /*a-*, *i-*/ with /*ima-*/ and /*anā*/.

/i-/ provides the accusative forms (/i, iš/, ntr. pl. /ī/), /a-/ the others (/ayam/ is based on PIE **h₁e*, with a deictic -i). The existence of a form /ah/ (wr. ā, 29.6a) is doubtful. /as-cil/ rather contains the personal pronoun /az/.—The gen. du. 'ās-ca might be /a-āh/.—The fem. instr. is /ayā/ (wr. ōyā; it cannot be from /aiva-/ 'one', see II 18.6).

/ima-/ is derived from **imam*, which is **im* + the particle -am, reinterpreted as *a*-stem. The YH has *imām*, *imā*; that GAV. has no such forms may be accidental.—The instr. /anā/ is based on a PIE particle **h₂en*, as is OCS *onъ*, Lith. *anàs*.

3. /hī/ provides fem. nominatives and accusatives, and a nom. du. ntr. The form originated from PIE **Hih₂*, the feminine of **h₁e* (Av. /a-/ above). From the paradigm it is clear that it (still) functions as the feminine (and neuter) of /a-/. It got an *s*- from **so*. Sanskrit has only *sīm*, which agrees with /hīm/.

4. /hai/, LAV. *hē*, *šē*, OP *šaiy* continue PIE **soi* (Gr. *hoi*), which seems an isolated form. (It might be an old dat.-loc. from **h₁e/o-*, i.e. **h₁oi*, with *s*- from **so*). In Indo-Aryan it is found in MInd. *se*.

A stem /ada-/ has been assumed for *adāiš* 48.1a, 35.4, but the form has also been interpreted differently (/at āiš/).

Not found in Gathic are, perhaps accidentally, Av. *di-* and *aēša-*, *aēla-*.

	<i>ha-</i> , <i>ta-</i>	<i>hau</i> , <i>ava-</i>	<i>a-</i> , <i>i-</i> , <i>ima-</i> , <i>ana-</i>	<i>hī-</i>	<i>hai</i>
	m.	f.	m.	f.	ntr. f. m.f.
Ns		<i>hā</i>	<i>hau</i>	<i>ayam</i> ; <i>ah?</i>	<i>hī</i>
A	<i>tam</i>	<i>tām</i>	<i>avām</i>	<i>īm</i>	<i>imām</i> YH
ntr.	<i>ta</i>	<i>avat</i>		<i>it</i>	<i>hīm</i>
G			<i>ahya</i>		
Ab			<i>ahmāt</i>		
D			<i>ahmāi</i>	<i>ahyāi</i>	<i>hai</i>
I	<i>tā</i>	<i>avā</i>	<i>anā</i>	<i>ayā?</i>	
L			<i>ahmi</i>		

	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	ntr.	f.
Np	<i>tai</i>							
A	<i>tanh</i>	<i>tāh</i>		<i>avāh iš</i>				<i>hīš</i>
ntr	<i>tā</i>				<i>ī, imā</i> YH			
G		<i>avaišaḍam</i>		<i>aišaḍam</i>				
D				<i>aibyah</i>		<i>ābyas-</i>		
I	<i>tāiš</i>	<i>avāiš</i>		<i>āiš, anāiš</i>		<i>ābiš</i> YH		
L						<i>āhu</i> YH		
Nd	<i>tā</i>						<i>hī</i>	<i>hī</i>
G				<i>ayāh, (aḍ)ās-?</i>				
D						<i>ābyā (?)</i>		

4. The relative pronoun

The relative pronoun is /*ya-*/, cf. Skt. *yá-*, Gr. *hós*. Not clear is why the neuter /*yat*/ is written *hyat*; it must continue PIE **iod*. Note that it is not written *h* (*x*). Perhaps it indicates that *y-* was voiceless.

	m.	f.
Ns	<i>yah, yas-</i>	<i>yā</i>
A	<i>yam</i>	<i>yām</i>
ntr	<i>yat</i>	
G	<i>yahya</i>	
Ab	<i>yāt</i> YH	
D	<i>yahmāi</i>	
I	<i>yā</i>	
L	<i>yahmi</i>	
Np	<i>yai</i>	<i>yāh, yās-</i>
A	<i>yanh, yans-</i>	
ntr	<i>yā</i>	
G	<i>yaišaḍam</i>	
D	<i>yaibyah, -as-</i>	
I	<i>yāiš</i>	
L		<i>yāhu</i>
Nd	<i>yā</i>	
G	<i>yayāh</i>	

5. The interrogative and indefinite pronouns

The situation is rather complicated. The Gathic evidence is limited, but the situation seems clear:

Interrogative:

/ci-/ , only Ns /ciš/ (43.7c, substantively);
 /ka-/ , all forms, as substantive and as adjective;
 /katara-/ 'which of the two'. (The form is written with the second *a* long. Perhaps this is only graphic).

Indefinite:

/ci-/ + /-ca/; as subst. (only after relative);
 /ka-/ + /cil/; subst. and adj. (often after relat.);
 /cahya/ gen. sg. masc. (48.9a, 50.1a; in the latter place it is also taken as neuter);
 /mā ciš/ 31.18a;
 /naiciš/ 'nobody'.

Thus, interrogative are both /ci-/ and /ka-/; when indefinite they are followed by /-ca/ and /cil/ resp., or preceded by a negative particle (/mā/, /nai-/; which make interrogative interpretation impossible). /cahya/ (indef.) is formally distinguished from interrogative /kahya/.

Interrogative /ciš/ occurs only in /ciš ahi, kahya ahi/, cf. Skt. *ko'si kasyāsi* 'who are you and on whose side are you?'. (This is the only occurrence of /cahya/ in Gathic.)

/ci- + -ca/ occurs only after the relative /ya-/:

/yastai cišca/ 43.16b

/yā zi cīca/ 47.5b

(This construction occurs twice again in LAv., Y 9.28, V 3.41; GAv. 47.5b is used in Y 12.1). As to /ka- + cil/, it is mostly found after a relative, but interpretations differ:

/kascil/ 49.5c

/kahmāicit/ 43.1a, 44.16e

/kācil/ 46.8e

/kahyācil/ 33.11c

	interrogative		indefinite	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
Ns	kah, kas-; ciš	kā	kascil; cišca; (mā) ciš;	naiciš
A	kam	kām		naicim
ntr	kat			naicit
G	kahya		cahya	
D	kahmāi		kahmāicit	
I	kā		kācil	
L				kahyācil
Np	kai			
A	kanh			
ntr	kā		cīca	
G				
D	kaibyah			

6. *The pronominal adjectives*

Only a few of the adjectives that have pronominal inflection in Sanskrit occur in Gathic. From /*uba-*/ 'both' and /*katara-*/ 'which of two' forms that could have pronominal inflection do not occur.

/*visva-*/ 'all' does not have pronominal inflection: dat. /*visvāi*, *visvāya*/, nom. pl. /*visvāhah*/, gen. /*visvanaḥam*/ . LAv. has pronominal inflection here. GAv. may have preserved the older situation.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE NUMERAL

Cardinals

/aiva-/ 'one'. The form *ōyā* 47.2d does not belong to */aiva-/*, see II 18.6. The instr. sg. */aivā/* does not favour it either.

/dasal/ 'ten'.

Ordinals

/parvia-/ 'first', Skt. *pūrvyá-*, PIE **prHu-io-*, with *-ia-* according to Sievers' law (*-iHo-* would have given Skt. *-yá-*).

/dbitiya-/ 'second' occurs only as adverb in *-am* 'for the second time'; Skt. *dvitīya-*.

/haptaθa-/ 'seventh', Skt. *saptátha-*.

CHAPTER NINE

INDECLINABLES

There is a large number of indeclinables (I counted 93 of them). Here we are concerned with their form only. The discussion of their use belongs to the syntax. It seems most convenient to give a full list of all indeclinable forms. After that they will be grouped according to their function.

1. Alphabetical list

- /abi/* adv., prep. towards, 7 × (*abhi*, OP *abiy*).
/ada/ adv. then 29.2a, 30.10a (*ádḥā*). *a-* + **-dhā*.
/adah/ adv. under, below 44,4b (*adhás*). **ṇdh-és*, Goth. *undar*.
/antar/ adv., prep. within, between 33.7c, 49.3d, 51.1b (*antár*).
/anu/ prep. after, according to, towards 32.16c, 47.2b (*ánu*, OP *anuv*).
/anyadā/ adv. elsewhere YH 35.2 (cf. *anyáttra*).
/anyaṭhā/ adv. otherwise 51.10a (*anyáthā*). Suff. *-thā*.
/apa/ adv. away from 32.9b, 33.4a (*ápa*).
/api/ adv., prep. upon 6 × (*ápi*). PIE *épi* and/or *ópi*.
/aram/ adv. correctly, properly 44.8d, 45.11c, 51.14a (*áram*).
/asnāt/ adv. from nearby 45.1b (-). Abl. of *asna-* < **ṇsd-na-*, cf. */nazd-iṣṭa-/*.
/aṭhā/ adv. thus, 10 × (*athā*) *a-* + *-thā*.
/aṭrā/ adv. here, there, then 31.12a, 46.16a (*átrā*). *a-* + *-tra-*.
/aura/ adv. down(ward) 53.7c (cf. *áva*).
/ava/ adv. down, off, 4 × (*áva*, OP *ava*).
/avai/ interj. alas 45.3e.
/avar/ adv. down(ward) 29.11c (*avár*).
/avat/ adv. so long 28.4c (-).
/azdā/ adv. certainly 50.1d (*addhā*, OP *azdā*).
/ā/ adv. hither, towards; passim (*ā*, OP *ā*).
/ākāh/ adv. certainly? 4 × (-).
/āt/ adv., then, but, and; passim (*āt*). Abl. of *a-*.
/āviś/ adv. openly 33.7c (*āvís*).
/bā/ part. really YH 35.5, in *bāt* (cf. *bát*, *baḍā*).
/baduś/? adv.? ? 53.4c.
/ca/ and, passim (*ca*, OP *cā*). PIE *-kwe*.
/cana/ part. of generalisation and indefiniteness, 30.6a, 31.10c (*canā*).
Written *cinā*.

- /cit/* part. of emphasis, passim (*cit*, OP *-ciy*). Ntr. sg. of **kwi-*.
/ciθna/ interrog. adv in any way 44.20a (-). *cit* + *-na*.
/d(a)r̥sat/ adv. boldly 33.7a (*dhṛṣát*). Acc. sg. ntr. of adj. in *-ant*.
/dbitā/ adv. deceitfully, Ins. by himself, 49.2b (*dvitā*, OP *duvitā-*).
/dbitīyam/ adv. for the second time 45.1d (*dvitīya-*, OP *duvitīyam*).
 Acc. sg. ntr. of 'second'.
/dūrāt/ adv. from afar 45.1b (*dūrāt*). Abl.
/dūrail/ adv. far away 34.8c (*dūrē*). Loc.
/fra/ adv., prep. in front 30 × (*prā*, OP *fra-*).
/fradivā/ adv. long since, continuously 32.14b (cf. *pradīvas*, *-vi*). Instr.
/fravrt/ adv. continuously 30.5c, 53.2b (-). Acc. sg. ntr.
/hacā/ prep. from, out of, in accordance with, 16 × (*sācā*, OP *hacā*).
/hadā/ adv., prep. together with, 29.2b, 46.17c, 50.4b (*sahā*, *sadha-*, OP *hadā*). Probably **sm-* 'one'.
/ham/ pref. together, 14 × (*sām*, OP *ham-*). PIE **sm-*, 'one'.
/hanar/ prep. without 31.15b, 47.5c (*sanutār*). PIE **snH-* ?
/haθrā/ adv. together, at the same time, Ins. completely, 28.4a, 30.9c (*satrā*). **sm-*.
hyat see */yat/*.
/ida/ adv. here 29.8a (*ihā*, OP *idā*).
/iθā/ adv. thus, 4 × (*itthā*).
/kadā/ adv. when, 6 × (*kadā*).
/kat/ adv. ?, when? 28.5a (-). Acc. sg. ntr.
/kaθā/ adv. how, in what way? 11 × (*kathā*).
/kū/ interr. adv. where? 51.4b, 53.9c (*kū*).
/kudal/ adv. where, 29.11a (*kūha*). OCS. *kъde*, PIE **ku-dhe*.
/kuθral/ adv. where, whither, 8 × (*kútra*).
/ma/ emphatic part., 12 × (*sma*).
/maš/ adv. soon? very (much)? 32.2b, 34.9c (-).
/mašū/ adv. soon 53.8d (*maṣū*).
/manh/ adv. in mind, 5 ×. Cf. */manah/*.
/mat/ prep. (together) with, 9 × (*smāt*). **sm-* 'one'.
/mā/ negative part., 31.17b.18a, 48.5a (*mā*, OP *mā*). PIE **mē*.
/naida/ neg. part., and not, 5 × (-).
/nait/ negatory part., passim (*nét*, OP *naiy*). PII. *na* + *it*.
/nānā/ (*nanā*) adv. separated, differently 48.4d (*nānā*).
/ni/ prev. down, back, into (*ni*, OP *niy*). PIE **ni*.
/niš/ adv. out(side) 44.13b (*nīs*).
/nū/ adv. now, 6 × (*nū*, *nū*).
/nūram/ adv. now 31.7c (cf. *nūnām*). Dissimilated from **nūnam*, or rebuilt.
/pari/ prev. prep. round, about, against, beyond, 15 × (*pāri*, OP *pariy*).
 PIE **péri*.

- /patil/ prev. prep. towards, against, 14 × (OP *patiy*; cf. *prāti*). PIE **póti* (beside *próti*, *préti*).
- /parah/ adv. prep. over, above 33.7b, 34.5c (*paráh*, OP *para*). Gen. sg., cf. Skt. *paré* (loc.), *param* (ntr.). PIE **peros*, cf. *pari* < **péri*, Gr. *pérā(n)*, Arm. *heri*, Osc. *perum*. Cf. /*parā*/.
- /parā/ adv. prev. away (from) 53.6c.7c (*pārā*, OP *parā*). From **per-* in /*parah*/.
- /parā/ adv. prep. before, 4 × (*purā*). PIE instr. **prh₂éh₁*, cf. Skt. *purás*, Gr. *páros* < **prHós*.
- /rš/ adv. correctly, passim. Cognate with /*aram*/.
- /tarah/ adv. prev. across, apart, superior to 45.11b (*tirás*). PIE *tṛHós*.
- /tā/ adv. in this way, 5 ×. Instr.
- /tū/ part. now, but, 8 × (*tu*, *tū*).
- /θvat/ adv., then again, now...now 44.3d (*tvád*). Acc.sg.ntr. (Skt. *tva-* one, several). Hitt. *duyan ... duyan* 'd'un côté ... de l'autre'.
- /utal/ part. and YH 35.6, 40.4 (*utá*, OP *utā*).
- /util/ adv., thus 45.2b, 38.4, 39.3 (*íti*). The difference between *u-* and *i-* has not been explained.
- /upa/ prev. towards 30.6b, 45.5d, 53.8b. (*úpa*). P/IE **Hupo*.
- /us/ prev. up(on), 5 × (*út*, OP *ud*, *us*). The Avestan form developed before *t-*.
- /vail/ emphasizing part. truly, indeed YH 36.3 (*vái*).
- /vasah/ adv at will, 4 × (-). Acc. sg. ntr. of /*vasah-*/.
- /vayail/ interj. woe 53.7d (-).
- /vā/ part. or, passim (*vā*).
- /vā/ emphasizing part., 7 × (*vāvā*). The Skt. word, with two accents, was built from two words.
- /vi/ prev. apart, off, passim (*ví*, OP *vi-*).
- /yadā/ adv., conj. when, 4 × (*yadā*, OP *yadā-taya*).
- /yat/ conj. when, because, (so)that, passim (*yád*). Acc. sg. ntr. written *hyat*.
- /yaθā/ adv., conj. in which manner, just like, passim (*yáthā*).
- /yaθna/ adv., conj. how, as 31.22a?, 43.10d?, 35.2 (-). *yat* + *-na*, cf. . /*ciθna*/.
- /yaθrā/ adv. where, whither, in order to, passim (*yátrā*).
- /yāvat/ adv., conj. how far, as far as, 5 × (*yāvat*). Acc. sg. ntr. of *yāvant-*.
- /yāvatā/ adv. inasmuch as 43.8e (-). Instr. sg. of *yāvant-*.
- /yāt/ adv. since, in so far 32.4a, 35.7? (*yāt*). Abl. of *ya-*.
- /yazi/ conj. as, because, if, when, (8 × (-)). From *yat* × *zi*?
- /zi/ part. for, indeed, passim (*hi*). PIE **ghi*.

2. Categories

We can distinguish the following categories:

21. Adverbs
22. Prepositions/preverbs
23. Connectives
24. Negations
25. Particles
26. Interjections

21. *Adverbs*

There is no regular way in which adverbs were derived from adjectives, though the accusative neuter singular or plural was not infrequently used as an adverb. In other instances we must primarily distinguish between adverbs that are synchronically analyzable and those that are not. (Of course there are doubtful cases, so there is no sharp dividing line). The latter group must not be presented in the morphology, but in the lexicon. Of this latter group some may be analyzable historically. If they show a recurrent morphological pattern of an older phase of the language, they may be mentioned in an historical grammar; if they do not belong to a recurrent pattern, they must be treated in an etymological dictionary.

Most of the prepositions/preverbs can be used as adverbs.

21.1. Analyzable adverbs

21.1a. Case forms

Accusative

*aram**avat**ākāh**baduš?**cit**d(a)ršat**dbitīyam**fravrt**kat**θvat**yat**yāvat**vasah*

Ablative

*āl**yāt**asnāl**dūrāt*

Locative

dūrai

Instrumental

*tā**yāvatā**fradivā*

21.1b. With suffixes

-da	-θā	-θra
ada	aθā	aθra
ida	iθā	
kada	kaθā	
kuda		kuθra
yada		yaθra
anayada	anyaθā	
hada		haθra
naida		

21.2 Unanalysable adverbs

adah	mašu
aura	manh
avar	nānā
āviš	nū
azdā	nūram
dbitā	rš
kū	uti
maš	

22. Prepositions/preverbs

These are mainly very old adverbs. Most of them can be used as independent adverbs, but also as pre-or postpositions with nouns or as preverbs. A few seem to have been used only as pre-/postpositions, others only as preverbs.

prep.-prev.	prep. only	prev. only
abi	hacā	apa
antar	?hada	fra
?anu	hanar	ham
api	mat	ni
ava	parā before	niš
ā		us
pari		vi
pati		
parah		
parā away		
?larah		
?upa		

23. *Connectives**-ca**vā**ula*24. *Negations**nait**naida**mā*25. *Emphatic (etc.) particles**bā**cana**cit**tū**vai**vā**zi*26. *Interjections**avai**vayai*

CHAPTER TEN

THE VERB

1. The verbal system

The verbal system of Gathic is almost identical to that of Vedic. For a comparison of the forms of etymologically cognate roots see §17.

Gender There is an active and a middle. Passive presents are derived with *-ya-*, and there is an isolated 3 sg. passive aorist.

Number There is a singular, a dual and a plural. Only a few dual forms are known from our texts.

Stems and moods In the following table the number of different forms (not their occurrences) is given. (A = active, M = middle):

tot.	Present				Aorist			Perfect	
	ath.	them.							
	root	red.	nas.	them	root	them.	sigm.	pf.	
	A-M	A-M	A-M	A-M	A-M	A-M	A-M	A-M	
ind.	22- 7	4- 6	6- 4		—	—	—	15- 4	
imf.	} 8- 4	8- 0	6- 1		21-15	9- 2	9-10		
inj.									
82-33 sub.	13- 2	3- 1	1- 2	9- 8	36-10	5- 2	14- 8	1- 0	
38-13 opt.	10- 1	1- 1	0- 0	8- 2	14- 6	4- 3	0- 0	1- 0	
imp.	8- 0	1- 3	2- 0		8- 6	3- 3	2- 4	0- 0	
tot.	51-14	17-11	15- 7		79-37	21-10	25-22	17- 4	

The injunctive is defined as having secondary endings and no augment. As the augment is almost absent from Avestan, the imperfect and the indicative aorist are almost absent. It is clear that the function of the injunctive in Avestan is entirely different from that in Vedic.

2. The augment

The augment is very rare in Avestan. In Gathic it is found, except in forms of */ah-/* be, only in aorists; but this may be accidental.

In a few cases it is not certain whether we have an augment or the particle *ā*. The particle is certain for 30.2a *avaēnatā*, which is an imperative, */ā vainata/*. It is also assumed for *acistā* 51.11c, *ajēn* 48.10b and *anqsa* 53.7c.

The following cases remain:

/aṛaram/ 43.10, written *ārām*. Here too /ā ṛaram/ has been assumed, but it would be the only occurrence of *ā* with *ar-*.

/vi adarsam/ 45.8b.

/asruvātam/ 30.3a.

/asru(ṣ)dvam/ 32.3c. (Here a glide between -ṣ s- has been assumed, as the verse is too long.)

/amahmadi/ YH 35.7

/avāci/ YH 36.6.

/avaucāma/? YH 38.5. Uncertain.

From *ah-* be:

/aṛas/ 31.9a, written *as*;

/āhva/ 29.5a, written *ahvā*. Uncertain.

The verb *ah-* had no injunctive forms in Indo-Iranian. Therefore *ahvā* will be /āhva/ from **Ha-Hh-*. There are five forms *as* in the Gāthā's, found together in 31.9a (two) and 34.8 (three). All facts could be accounted for as follows:

31.9a first *as* : /aṛas/ he was;

second *as*: read /aṣṣratus/ of great determination;

34.8a and c : /as/ 3 sg. inj. aor. of ²*ah-* throw;

34.8b : read /aṣṣaujāh/ of great strenght.

Thus both cases of augment before a root beginning (apparently) with a vowel (*a-*), had /aṛa.../, i.e. /aṛas/ and /aṛaram/.

3. Reduplication *

Reduplication is found in the reduplicated presents (the third-class), the reduplicated *a*-aorists, the perfect, the desideratives, and the intensives.

Reduplication normally consists of the first consonant of the root plus a vowel. For the roots beginning in a vowel see below. The intensives have a different type of reduplication, see below.

The consonant

The consonant is the first consonant of the root: /dadā-, ruraud-, nansa-, vavrāz-/ from /yat-/.

If this consonant is a velar, the reduplication has a palatal (as PIE had *e* or *i* as reduplicating vowel): /cāxn-, cikait-, jigrz-, cixšnuša-/.

If an original stop has become a fricative, the reduplication has the stop: /pafr-, cāxn-, cixšnu-/.

If the root has *h-* from PIE *s-*, the reduplication has *h-*; in the cases we have, the root has zero grade and the *s-* is retained, or *s* became *ṣ-* after *i-*: /hi-ṣāy-/ < **si-sāy-*, /hiṣsa-/ < **si-sd-so*.

The vowel

The reduplicating vowel is *a*, *ā*, *i*, or *u* (for the intensives see below). The desideratives have always *-i-*, even if the root has *-u-* (where Sanskrit reduplicates with *-u-*): */cixśnu-/*. PIE probably had *e* and *i* in the present, *e* in the aorist and the perfect. PII inherited these forms, but introduced *i* or *u* if the root had *i* or *u* both in the present and in the perfect (there are no relevant forms of the aorist in Gathic):

pres. */ruraud-/*

pf. */cikait-, hišāy-/*

Instead of *a* sometimes *ā* is found. This *ā* is also found in Sanskrit, but not always. No rule has been established. In some cases it may not be a linguistic reality.

In **hišta-* (< **si-stH-a-*) the *-i-* disappeared and a form */(x)šta-/* resulted; see IV 631b.

Roots beginning with a vowel

If the root seems to begin in a vowel, it had mostly a preceding laryngeal. Only such cases are known: */uz-ṛiṛdyāi/* [*-ṛiṛ*] < **-Hi-Hr-* (root *ṛar/ṛr* < **Har/Hr*).

The laryngeal is also preserved in */ṛaṛṣya-/* [*ṛaṛṣya-*], where the root began with a laryngeal before consonant.

In the forms where the root has zero grade, normal reduplication gave a long vowel:

**Ha-Hr* > */ārai/*,

**Hi-Hr-ā-* > */īra-/*.

iša- is interpreted as */iša-/*, the desiderative of */ṛi-/* 'go'. This would require **Hi-Hi-so-*, which would probably have disyllabic */ṛiṛiša-/*, which the metre does not allow. If it was the desiderative of *yā-* 'go' (**HyaH-* from **Hai-/Hi-* 'go'), it was **Hi-HiH-so-*, which gives the same problem. Therefore the interpretation is uncertain.

The intensive reduplication

The intensive reduplication consists of the first consonant + *a* + the resonant following the *a* of the root or, if there was no such resonant, the first two consonants + *a*.

C₁aR-C₁aR(C) *zau-*: */zau-zau-/*; *dais-*: */dai-dais-/*

C₁C₂a-C₁C₂(a)C *ṛrah/s-*: */ṛra-ṛrṣya-/*.

4. The endings

The present and aorist endings

There are primary and secondary endings. The first are found in the indicative present (and future), the latter in the imperfect, the indicative aorist, in the injunctive and in the optative. The subjunctive has endings of both systems, see §5. The imperative has special endings, but in the second plural it has the secondary ending.

The forms are the following:

		Active		Middle	
		ath.	them.	ath.	them.
prim.	1.	<i>mi</i>	<i>ā, āmi</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ai</i>
	2.	<i>hi</i>	<i>ahi</i>	<i>hai</i>	
	3.	<i>ti</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>tai, ai</i>	<i>atai</i>
du	1.	<i>vahi</i>			
pl	1.	<i>mahi</i>	<i>āmahi</i>	<i>madai</i>	<i>āmadai</i>
	2.	<i>θa</i>	<i>aθa</i>	<i>dvai</i>	<i>advai</i>
	3.	<i>anti, ati?</i>	<i>anti</i>	<i>atai</i>	<i>antai</i>
sec.	1.	<i>am</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>i</i>	
	2.	<i>h/s/š</i>	<i>ah</i>	<i>ha/sa/ša</i>	
	3.	<i>t/θ</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ata</i>
du	1.	<i>va</i>		<i>vadi</i>	
	3.			<i>ātam</i>	<i>aitam</i>
pl	1.	<i>ma</i>	<i>āma</i>	<i>madi</i>	
	2.	<i>ta</i>		<i>dvam</i>	
	3.	<i>an, at</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>anta</i>
sub.	1.	<i>ā(ni)</i>	<i>aṛā(ni)</i>	<i>āi, ānai</i>	<i>aṛāi</i>
	2.	<i>ahi</i>		<i>ahai</i>	
	3.	<i>at(i)</i>	<i>aṛat</i>	<i>atai</i>	<i>aṛutai</i>
du	3.				<i>aitai</i>
pl	1.	<i>āma</i>	<i>aṛāma</i>		<i>(aṛ)āmadai YH</i>
	2.	<i>aθa</i>		<i>advai</i>	
	3.	<i>an(ti)</i>	<i>aṛan(ti)</i>	<i>antai</i>	<i>aṛantai</i>
opt.	1.	<i>yaṛam</i>		<i>iṛa</i>	<i>ayu</i>
	2.	<i>yāh YH</i>	<i>aiš</i>	<i>iša</i>	
	3.	<i>yāt, īt</i>	<i>ait</i>	<i>īta</i>	<i>aita</i>
pl	1.	<i>yāma, īma</i>	<i>aima</i>	<i>īmadi</i>	<i>aimadi</i>
	2.	<i>yāta</i>			

Active

1 sg. Ath. prim.: sec. *-mi*: *-am* (after consonants). *-am* is *-a* < **-m* enlarged with postvocalic *-m* (which does not occur in Gathic).

Them. *-ā(mi)*: *-am*. *-ā* continues PIE *-oH*, *-mi* was added from the athematic forms; *-am* is from **-o-m*.

2 sg. ath. *-hi*: *-h* (with *s* or *š* for *h* according to the preceding sounds) < **-si*: *-s*.

Them. *-ahi*: *-ah* from **-asi*: *-as*, for PIE **-eh₁i*: *-es*.

3 sg. ath. *-ti*: *-t* (or *o* < *-t*); them. *-ati*: *-at* for PIE *-e*: *-et*.

1 du. ath. *-vahi*: *-va*. *-vahi* < **-vasi*, where *-i* is a PII addition.

1 pl. ath. *-mahi*: *-ma*, them. *-āmahi*: *-āma*. The *-i* is a PII addition.

2. pl. ath. *-θa*: *-ta*, them. *-aθa*: *-ata*. *-θa* represents PIE *-th₁e*.

3 pl. ath. *-anti*, *-ati?*: *-an*, *at* < **-enti*, *-nti*: *-ent*, *-nt*. The zero forms are found in the reduplicated presents, the intensives and the *s*-aorist. (*-ati* in */vaividati/* if this is 3 pl.) Avestan did not introduce an *r*-ending (Skt. *-ur*), except in the optative, for which Gathic has no evidence.

Middle

1 sg. ath. *-ai*: *-i*, them. *-ai*: *-*. *-i* continues **h₂* (cf. the *a* of Gr. *-mai/* *-mān*), *-ai* is the thematic form (from *a* + *i*, not from *-aH*) used also in the athematic verb.

2 sg. ath. *-hai*: *-ha*, *-sa* (them. unknown). Skt. sec. *-thās* continues PIE *-th₂o*; the forms with *s*- are based on the active ending.

3 sg. ath. *-tai*, *-ai*: *-ta*, them. *-atai*: *-ata*. *-ai* in */īsai/* 50.1a.

1 du. ath. *-*: *-vadi*, them. *-*: *-*. PIE *-uēdh₂*.

3 du. ath. *-*: *-ātam*, them. *-aitai*: *-aitam*. Sanskrit has ath. *-āte/ātām*, them. *-ete/etām*. The prehistory of these forms is unknown. (*-aitai* in sub. */jamaitai/* 44.15c, *-ātam* in */(a)sruvātam/* 30.3a, *-aitam* in */jasaitam/* 30.4a.)

1 pl. ath. *-madai*: *-madi*, them. *-āmadai*: *-āmadi*. *-madi* < **medh₂*, *-ai* after the singular.

2 pl. ath. *-dvai*: *dvam*, them. *-advai*: *-advam*. PIE *-dh₂e*.

3 pl. ath. *-atai*: *ata*, them. *-antai*: *-anta*. PII *-nta* replaced PIE *-ro*.

The imperative endings

	Act.	ath.	them.	Middle	ath.	them.
sg 2.		<i>-di</i> , (<i>-i</i>)	<i>-a</i>		<i>-hva</i> , <i>-sua</i>	<i>-ahva</i>
3.		<i>-tu</i>	<i>-atu</i>		<i>-ām</i>	<i>-atām</i>
pl 2.		<i>-ta</i>	<i>-ata</i>		<i>-dvam</i>	<i>-advam</i>
3.		<i>-ntu</i>	<i>-antu</i>			<i>-antām</i>

Active

2 sg. ath. *-di*, *s*-aor. (*-s*)-*i*, them. *-a*. The imperative in *-si* did not originally belong to the *s*-aorist.

3 sg. ath. *-tu*, them. *-atu*.

2 pl. has the secondary ending *-ta*, *-ata*.

3 pl. ath. *-ntu*, them. *-antu*.

Middle

2 sg. ath. *-hva* (*-sva*, *-šva*), them. *-ahva*.

3 sg. ath. *-ām*, them. *-atām*, as in Sanskrit. *-ām* in the aorists */ucām/* 48.9c and */daṛām/* 32.6c.

2 pl. has the secondary ending *-dvam*, *-advam*.

3 pl. ath. -, them. *-antām*.

Passive

There is only one specific passive form, the 3 sg. aor. in *-i*. In origin this is probably a neuter *i*-stem.

The perfect endings

Only the indicative had specific endings. There is no primary: secondary opposition.

Act. 1 sg. <i>-a</i>	1 pl. <i>-ma</i>	Middle
2 <i>-θa</i>		
3 <i>-a</i>	3 <i>-ar</i> , <i>-rš</i>	3 sg. <i>-ai</i>

Active

1 sg. *-a*, PIE *-h₂e*.

2 sg. *-θa*, PIE *-th₂e*. (Note *-sθa* > *-sta*, */vaista/*.)

3 sg. *-a*, PIE *-e*

1 pl. *-ma* is identical with the secondary pres.-act. ending.

3 pl. *-ar*, *-rš*. As PIE had **-r̥* or **-ēr*, */-ar/* must represent **-r̥*, which is confirmed by *-rš*. Skt. *-ur* corresponds with *-rš*. The *-s* is unexplained.

Middle

3 sg. *-ai* is a creation of PII.

5. The subjunctive

The subjunctive is made, with ablauting verbs, from the full grade stem, with the suffix *-a-* and a system of endings in which both primary and secondary endings occur.

Subjunctive (all forms)

ATH. PRES.

Active

1. *ahā-*, *tavā*
ayāni, *varāni*
3. *ahat*, *dadat*,
ayat, *mravat*, *vasat*;
ahati, *mravati*

Middle

aujāi, *frināi*, *īsāi*

vrnavatai

1. *ahāma*
2. *zaḍaṭa?*
3. *ahan*, *dadān*, *krnavan*;
zazanti

dadantai

THEM. PRES.

Active

1. *iṣaḍā*, *xṣayaḍā*
hanaḍāni, *sanhaḍāni*, *ufyāni?*
3. *iṣaḍat*
- 1.
3. *raḍrṣyaḍan*, YH *vrzyaḍan/ān*;
iṣaḍanti

Middle

ḥrsaḍāi, *manyaḍāi*, *ṣyavaḍāi*, *jasāi*, *yazāi*

YH *is(aḍ)āmadai*

baryaḍantai, *hacaḍantai*

ROOT AOR.

Active

1. *jamā*, *hacā*, *yaujā*;
darsāni, *carāni*

Middle

manāi

daḍānai

2. *daḍahi*

3. *ahat*, *ardat*, *buvat*, *caiṭat*, *daḍat*, *darsat*,
jamat, *gaḍat*, *carat*, *maiṭat*, **nasat*,
paḍat, *rādat* *syazdat*, *xraudat*;
buvati, *daḍati*, *jamati*,
carati, *mardati*
xraḍati *xraudati*

caiṭatai, *daḍatai*,
yamatai

1. *daḍāma?*

2. *cayaṭa*, *zayaṭa*

3. *daḍan*, *jaman*
buvanti, *danti?*, *rādanti*

daḍadvai

arantai, *daḍantai*,
yaujantai, *vaxṣantai*
jamaitai

3. *du*

s-AOR.

Active

1. *daišā, varšā*2. *rāhahai*3. *naišat, stāhāt,
vraṣšat, vanhat;
baxšati?, jan-
hati, vanhati,
varšati*1. *našāma*3. *xšnaušan, YH vanhan;
varšanti*

Middle

*haxšāi, manhāi, xšnaušāi
sraušanai, varšanai
rāhahai**marxšatai,
varšatai*

a-AOR.

1. *fraṇā, hanaṇāni, vaucaṇā*3. *vaucaṇat*1. *vaucaṇāma**xsaṇai**vavraṇatai?*

PERF.

1. *vaidā?*2. pl. *vavrāzaθa*

The forms found are given above. There is a large number of subjunctives in the Gathas, owing to the character of the text.

The numbers are as follows:

	ath. pres.	them. pres.	root aor.	s-aor.	a-aor.	tot.
active	17	9	36	14	5	81
middle	5	8	10	8	2	33

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Active forms are more numerous, but perhaps not more so than in other moods.

The Stem

The stem of ablauting roots has full grade. From *dā-* the subjunctive forms have */daṇa-/: /daṇahi, daṇāma/* etc. Not clear is *azāθā* 50.7d (for **zāθā /zaṇaθa/*?).

The only exception is */danti/* < **dH-anti*. The reduplicating presents have zero grade: */dadat/* < **da-dH-at, /dadan, dadantai, zazanti/*, the *nā-*

presents: /*frināi*/ < **-rH-āi*, but /*krnavan*/, and /*vr-n-av-a-tai*/, if *varanvaitē* 31.17a must be so read. In the reduplicated presents the type is old.

Irregular is /*āhāma*/ we shall be; it must be a mistake for /*ahāma*/. In *urvāxšat* the long *ā* will be graphic only (or after the otherwise identical indicative form). The long *ā* of *nāšāma* is also found in other forms of this root (*nas*-attain).

The Suffix

The suffix *-a-* is added to the athematic or the thematic stem. In the latter case a laryngeal was analogically introduced, which gave *-aHa-* > *-aḥa-*. This was later contracted into *ā*, which is found in our texts, but the metre shows that they must be read disyllabic. Only three forms seem to have the contracted forms, /*jasāi*, *yazāi*, *ufyāni*/, for which no explanation has been found. (One could emend to /*ufyaḥāi*/, without *-ni*.) It is clear that the athematic verbs do not have the thematic *ā*, as in LAv., because it was disyllabic *aḥā*. See IV 53.3.

The Endings

The distribution of primary and secondary forms is largely the same as in Sanskrit.

Gatha-Avestan

Active

1. *-ā* 10
- āni* 6

2. *-hi* 1

3. *-ti* 19 *-t* 54

1. *-ma* 4 *-madai* 1 YH

2. *-θa* 2

3. *-nti* 6 *-n* 11

1. *du*.

- 2.

- 3.

Middle

- āi* 19,

- ānai* 3

- hai* 1

- tai* 8

- madai* 1 YH

- dvai* 1

- ntai* 7

- aitai* 1

Sanskrit

Active

- ā* 13

- āni*

- si* *-s*

- ti* *-t*

- ma*

- tha*

- n*

- va*

- thas*

- tas*

Middle

- ai*

- se*

- te* (*-tai* 1)

- mahe*, *-mahai*

- dhve* (*-dhvai* 1)

- nte* *-nta*

- vahi*

- aithe*

- aite*

There are no differences between the different present-classes and the aorist types. (In LAv. primary endings are only found in the *nu*-presents and the *s*-aorist. Of the first category there are not enough forms to check this in Gathic; in the *s*-aorist both forms are well established.)

1 sg. The forms in /*-āni*/ are less frequent than those in *-ā*; middle /*-ānai*/ is rare, but well established. Note the difference with the Rigveda.

Middle forms are all primary (also in LAv.). In the Rigveda *-nta* is more frequent than *-nte*.

2 sg. The one form in /-hi/ does not allow conclusions (LAv. has $-\bar{o}$, $-\bar{a} < *-\bar{a}s$, $-\bar{a}s$).

3sg. pl. The secondary forms are more frequent. In the Rigveda the 3 pl. has no primary form. The Rigveda seems to be the more conservative. Gathic introduced 3 pl. Act. $-nti$ and in the 3 pl. middle $-nta$ disappeared.

The distribution of the primary and secondary forms can be explained from the PIE paradigm. The subjunctive was identical to the thematic indicative, which in PIE had the following endings (first column):

PIE prim. $-oh_1$	PIIr. sub. $>$	$-\bar{a}$	PIE sec. $-om$
$-eh_1i$		$-as <$	$-es$
$-e$		$-at <$	$-et$
$-omom$		$-\bar{a}ma <$	$-omo$
$-eth_1e$	$>$	$-atha$	$-ete$
$-o$		$-an <$	$-ont$

Some of these endings were not retained in Indo-Iranian. In the subjunctive these were replaced with the secondary endings, because these were sufficient to characterize a form. (The indicative, where there was an opposition between primary and secondary forms, received primary endings.) Thus 3 sg. $*-e$ became $-at$. Then $-as$ was introduced for the 2 sg. For the 1 pl. $*-omom$ was replaced with $*-omo$, but in the 2 pl. $-atha$ was maintained. 3 pl. received added $-nt$.

The primary forms $-si$, $-ti$ were introduced because the 1 sg. sub. $-\bar{a}$ was identical to that of the indicative, which has primary endings. The middle forms got /-ai/ from the 1 sg., which had $-a-$ with $i < *h_2$ (the 1 sg. middle ending). On the origin of $-\bar{a}i$ see IV 53.3.

6. The optative

The optative is made with the suffix $y\bar{a}/\bar{i}$, PIE ieh_1/ih_1 , and secondary endings. With the thematic vowel the suffix gave $-ai-$.

The following numbers are found:

	ath. pres.	them. pr.	root aor.	s-aor.	a-aor.	pf.	tot.
act.	11	8	14	0	4	1	38
mid.	2	2	6	0	3	0	13
							51

The preference for active forms is even stronger than with the subjunctive. Noteworthy is the absence of s -aorist optatives (there are 22 s -aorist subjunctives). An active optative of the s -aorist is not found in Sanskrit

either. In its place a static root aorist optative was used (cf. YH /varzīma/).

The forms are in the table.

Optative (all forms)

ATH. PRES.

Active

1. *hyaḍam*

2. *hyāh* YH

3. *hyāt, mruyāt, usyāt, mṛṇśyāt; pāyāt; dadīt, sāhīt*

1. *hyāma*

2. *hyāta*

Middle

xšnavīša

dadīta

THEM. PRES.

Active

rapaiš YH

frādait, jasait, išsait, vadayait?

Middle

vardayaita

srāvayaima,

vanaima, zarnaima,

ROOT AOR.

1. *dyaḍam*

2. *jamyāh* YH

3. *dyāt, dāyāt, asyāt³, jamyāt, miṭhyāt, sahyāt⁴; ciθīt*

1. *buyāma* YH, *jamyāma* YH, *sravīma,* *varzīma* YH, *zaima* YH

diḍa¹, uxšīḍa?

dīša²

drīta

manīmadi YH, *varīmadi* YH

a-AOR.

vauraya

sišait

xšaita YH

āpaima- YH, *hanaima* YH, *vaucaima* YH

vauraimadi

PERFECT

3. *vidyāt*

The Ablaut of Root and Suffix

In Sanskrit the normal pattern with ablauting roots is that the root has zero grade, the suffix full grade (-yā-) in the active except the 3 pl., zero grade (-ī-) elsewhere. In Gathic the situation is much more complex.

¹ *dyā*, 43.8d; *dH-iH-a

² *dH-iH-sa

³ *frōsyāt* 46.8b; nas- attain

⁴ *sahyāt; sanh-*

The middle has always *-ī-* for the suffix.

A rule that obtains almost without exception is that *-yā-* is preceded by a zero grade, which agrees with what we know from PIE rules. */jamyāt/* has *am* < *m̥*. The exceptions are */dāyāt/* (6 times) which stands beside */dyāt/* (twice), and */pāyāt/* (46.8d). */dāyāt/* is a younger form, with *dā-* introduced to replace the zero grade. The old and the new form occur side by side. (Skt. *deyām* has its *-e-* from 3 pl. **daH-iH-*.)

-yā- was introduced into the plural in */hyāma, -ta, buyāma/* and */jamyāma/*. This type corresponds to the Sanskrit type, but we have no 3 pl. form.

The reduplicating presents are represented by */dadīt/*, where Sanskrit has *dadyāt*. The Avestan form seems to be the original one, because the reduplicated verbs have zero forms (notably 3 pl. */dadat/* < **da-dH-ni*), and because extension of *-ī-* is improbable.

The present */sāhīl/* with full grade of the root (*sāh-*, Skt. *śās-*, PIE **keHs-*) and zero of the suffix in the singular has been recognized as a trace of a (proto)static (akrostatic) inflection, with full grade of the root in all forms (see 71a). 29.4a */ciθīl/* is aberrant in having zero grade of the root. In the 1 pl. full grade is well represented: */sraṽīma, YH varzīma, zaima/* < **zaH-iH-*.

As the full grade of the root in the (proto)static type is also found in the middle, *xšnavīšā* could be */xšnavīša/* (*əv* cannot be graphic for */uv/*). */varīmadīl/* can be **uḷH-iH-* or **uelH-iH-*. Thus */manīmadīl/* could have full grade *man-*, but it could also be *man-* < *m̥n-* (in other positions).

Both */dyaṛam/* and */hyaṛam/* are disyllabic. They have */-yaṛam-/* < *-yaHam*.

7. The athematic presents

71. The root present

The (athematic) root present is taken by some thirty roots; they are given below. The paradigm at the end of this section gives all forms.

Ablaut (the normal, mobile type)

As we have not many forms from each root, we have no very extensive evidence for the ablaut. It is remarkable that we find nearly as much evidence for the so-called static ablaut as for the normal, mobile ablaut.

There are two types of ablaut. The (proto)static type will be discussed in the next section.

The normal ablaut has full grade in the singular indicative and injunctive active, in the subjunctive, both active and middle, and in the 3 sg.

imperative active, but zero grade elsewhere. Roots in long *-ā* have given up the ablaut.

Only five roots show both ablaut forms (all their forms are given in the paradigm):

/ah-/ be, */ah-, as-/*: */h-, s-/*;
/i-/ go, */ai-, ay-/*: */i-, y-/*;
/mruṛ-/ say, */mrau-, mrau-/*: */mrū-, mruṛ-/*;
/vas-/ wish, */vas-/*: */us-/*;
/ši-/ dwell, */šai-/*: */šy-/*;

Stems

The stems may be grouped thus:

<i>CaC</i>	<i>ah-</i>	<i>laš-</i>	<i>CaCC</i>
	<i>hac-</i>	<i>vah-</i>	
	<i>hah-</i>	<i>vas-</i>	
	<i>hap-</i>		
<i>Cā</i>	<i>paṛ-</i>		<i>CāC</i> <i>sāh-</i>
			<i>rāṭh-?</i>
<i>CaR</i>	<i>bar-</i>		<i>CaRC</i> <i>garz-</i>
<i>CaN</i>	<i>jan-</i>		<i>CaNC</i>
<i>Ci(H)</i>	<i>i-</i>		<i>CiC</i> <i>īs-</i>
	<i>ši-</i>		<i>dviš-</i>
<i>Cu(H)</i>	<i>mruṛ-</i>		<i>CuC</i> <i>auj-</i>
	<i>stu-</i>		
	<i>tuṛ-</i>		
	<i>xšnu-</i>		

(-C is not *H* or resonant)

1. Roots *CaC*

/ah-/ be, */as-, ah-, s-, h-/* (Skt. *as-, ásmi*); see paradigm.

/hah-/ sleep, (*sas-, sásti*); */hahmi/* 34.5a.

/hap-/ hold, (*sap- serve?, sápati*); */hafši, hapti/*.

/laš-/ shape, (*takṣ-, tāṣṭi*); */lāšti/*.

/vah-/ dress, */vas-/* (*vas-, váste*); */vastai/*.

/vas-/ wish, */vas-, us-/* (*vaś-, vásmi*); see paradigm.

2. Roots *Cā*

/paṛ-/ protect, */pā-/* (Skt. *pā-, páti*); */pāt, paṛat?, pāyāt/*, ind. M */pāhai/*.

3. Roots *CāC*

/rāṭh-/? cling to³; (-); */rāšti/*.

(cont. p. 164)

Root present, active; all forms (static forms in brackets)

ind.	1.	<i>ahmi</i>	<i>vasmi</i>	<i>mraumi</i>	<i>hahmi</i> , (<i>stāumi</i> ?)
	2.	<i>ahi</i>	<i>vaši</i>		<i>haḥši</i>
	3.	<i>asti</i> YH	<i>vašti</i>	<i>aiti</i>	<i>hapti</i> , <i>šaiti</i> , (<i>sāsti</i>)
1 du			<i>usvahi</i>		
	1.	<i>mahi</i> YH	<i>usmahi</i>		
	2.	<i>sta</i>	<i>ušta</i>		
3.		<i>hanti</i>		<i>yanti</i>	<i>šyanti</i> YH, <i>dvišanti</i>
imf./inj.	1.				
	2.			<i>mrauṣ</i>	
	3.	<i>aḥas</i>		<i>mraut</i>	<i>pāt</i> , <i>jan</i> , (<i>tāṣi</i>)
1 du		<i>āhva</i>			
	2.			<i>mrauta</i>	
	3.				
sub.	1.	<i>ahā-</i>		<i>ayāni</i>	<i>tavā</i>
	2.				
	3.	<i>ahat</i>	<i>vasat</i>	<i>mravat</i>	<i>ayat</i> <i>pāḥat</i> ?
		<i>ahati</i>		<i>mravati</i>	
	1.	<i>ahāma</i>			
	2.				
3.		<i>ahan</i>			
opt.	1.	<i>hyaḥam</i>			
	2.	<i>hyāh</i> YH			
	3.	<i>hyāt</i>	<i>usyāt</i>	<i>mruyāt</i>	<i>iyāt</i> <i>pāyāt</i> , (<i>sāhīt</i>)
1.		<i>hyāma</i>			
	2.	<i>hyāta</i>			
	3.				
imp.	2.	<i>zdi</i>		<i>idi</i>	
	3.	<i>astu</i>		<i>mrautu</i>	<i>bartu</i> ?, (<i>sāstu</i>)
	2.		<i>ušta</i> ?		
3.		<i>hantu</i>			

Root present, middle; all forms (static forms in brackets)

ind.	1.	<i>mruḥai</i> , <i>grzai</i> , (<i>aujai</i>)
	2.	<i>pāhai</i>
	3.	<i>īsai</i> ; (<i>vastai</i>)
1.		(<i>augmadai</i> - YH)
inj.	1.	(<i>auji</i>)
	2.	(<i>augža</i>)
	3.	<i>gržda</i> , (<i>augda</i>)

- sub.1. *īsāi*, (*aujāi*)
 1. *īsāmadai* YH
 opt.1.
 2. (*xšnaviša*)?
 imp.

/sāh-/ teach, */sās-, sāh-/* (*śās-, śāsmi*); */sāsti, sāstu, sāhū/*.

4. Roots CaR

/bar-/ bring, (*bhr̥-, bháratī*); */bartul/* or */baratu/*?

5. Roots CaRC

/garz-/ complain, */grz-/* (*gr̥h-, gr̥he*); */grzai, gržda/*.

6. Roots CaN

/jan-/ slay, */jan-, ja-/* (*han-, hanti*); */ā jan/*, inf. */jadyāi/*.

7. Roots Ci(H)

/i-/ go, */ai-, i-/* (*i-, éti*); see paradigm.

/ši-/ dwell, */šai-, šy-/* (*k̥si-, k̥séti*); */šaiti, YH šyanti/*.

8. Roots CiC

/is-/ be able, (*īs-, íše*); */īšai, īsāi, īsāmadai YH/*.

/dbiš-/ hate, (*dviṣ-, dvéṣti*); */dbišanti/*.

9. Roots Cu(H)

/mrū-/ speak, */mrav-, mrū-, mruṇ-/* (*brū-, brávīmi*); see paradigm.

/stu-/ praise, */stāu-/* (*stu-, staumi AV*); */stāumi/* (or */staumi/*?)

/tuṇ-/ be able, */tav-/* (*tū-, távīti*); */tavā/*

/xšnu-/ satisfy, */xšnav-/* (-); 2 sg. opt. M */xšnaviša/*. (Perhaps root aorist.)

10. Roots CuC

/auj-/ say, (*ūh-, óhate* 3 pl.); see paradigm.

Notes

Active

2 pl. *θ* after *s, š* becomes *t*; see IV 31.

3 sg. inj. The *-t* is lost after consonant: */aṇas, jan/*; see IV 821.

Subjunctive: see also section 5 above.

Optative: see also section 6.

Middle

2, 3 sg. On *gž < *ghs*, *gd < *ght* and *zd < *g̑ht* see IV 32 d.

71a The static inflection

The second type of ablaut is called static (protostatic or proterodynamic; *dynamis* 'accent'), because it had the accent always on the root. It had

lengthened grade in the singular indicative and injunctive active, full grade everywhere else. Traces of this type have also been found in the root aorist. The ablaut is due to the fact that some forms (2, 3sg. inj.) were monosyllabic (type *CeC-s*, *-t*). In that case the vowel was lengthened in PIE. The long vowel was then introduced into the 1 sg. In the *s*-aorist the whole ind. got the long vowel (the injunctive in Sanskrit still shows the original distribution). These forms have here been put together, because they are very few and because in some cases it is not certain whether a form is present or aorist.

Stems

The roots that present this ablaut are:

pres. /taṣ-/ (<i>takṣ</i>)	/auj-/ (<i>ūh</i> -)	aor. /zaṛ-/ YH (<i>hā</i> -; not stat.)
/vah-/ (<i>vas</i> -)	/stu-/ (<i>stu</i> -)	/varz-/ YH (-)
/sāh-/ (<i>śās</i> -)	/xśnu-/ (-)	/sru-/ ? (<i>śru</i> -; not stat.)
		/ciš-/ ? (-)

All forms are given below.

Remarkable is /cikaitrṣ/ 3 pl. ind. pf. of *cit*.

Static forms of the root present and the root aorist

Active		Middle	
ind. pres.	aor	pres.	aor.
1. <i>stāumi?</i>		<i>aujai</i>	
2.			
3. <i>sāsti</i>		<i>vastai</i>	
1.		<i>augmadai</i> - YH	
inj.			
1.		<i>auji</i>	
2.		<i>-augža</i>	
3. <i>tāšt</i>		<i>augda</i>	<i>caišta?</i>
sub.			
1.		<i>aujāi</i>	
opt.			
1.			
2.		<i>xśnaviṣa?</i>	
3. <i>sāhīl</i>			
1.	<i>sravīma,</i> <i>varzīma</i> YH, <i>za(ṛ)īma</i> YH		
imp.			
2.			
3. <i>sāstu</i>			

72. Reduplicated presents

Stems

1. Roots in -a?

/daʔ-/ give, put, /dadū-, dad-/ (*d(h)ā-*, *dád(h)āti*); see paradigm.

/maʔ-/ determine, /mīmā-/ (*mā*, *mīmīte*); 2 pl. *mīmaṭhā* 32.4a. If this form is indicative, it must stand for /mīmāṭhā/. If the -a- is short, it must be a subjunctive, or a thematic indicative.

/zaʔ-/ come in first, /zaz-/ (*hā-*, *jáhāti*); 3 pl. /zazat/, sub. /zazanti/.

2. Other roots.

/danh-/ teach, /didanh-, didah-/ (-); 3 sg. inj. /didans/, 1 sg. ind. M. /didahail/.

/di-/ see, /dady-/ (*dhī*, *ádīdhet*); 3 pl. inj. /dadyat/.

/garz-/ complain, /jigrz-/ (*gṛh-*, -); 3 pl. *jigrzat*/.

?/hac-/ accompany, /hišc-/ (*sac-*, *sīṣakti*); sub. /hišcāmadai/ YH 40,4 (written with short -a-); if the form is ind., it is thematic.

/ar-/ rise, /iʔr-/ (*ṛ-*, *íyarti*, *ṛte*); inf. /iʔrdyāi/ < **Hi-Hr*.

/rud-/ hold back, /ruraud-/ (*rudh-*, -); /ruraust/. Or pluperfect? See §10.

/yā-/ ask, /iʔ-/ (*ímahe*); 1 sg. ind. /iʔai/ 31.2b, imp. /īdvam/. If the root was **HiaH-/HiH-*, we would have *Hi-HiH-*, with loss of the laryngeal between identical vowels.—The forms are also taken from /i-/ go.

Thematized forms are:

/ar-/ rise, /īra-/; imp. /īratu/ 53.8d, from **Hi-Hr-a-*. See above.

/mā-/ determine, /mima-/ if /mimaṭhā/ is ind.; see above.

/stā-/ stand, /xšta-/ (*stā-*, *tīṣṭhati*); inj. /xštai/ 51.4a. /xšta-/ stands for **hišta-* with loss of the -i-.

Reduplicated presents (all forms)

Gathic			Sanskrit	
Active			Active	Middle
ind.	1.		<i>dadai, iʔai, didahai</i>	<i>dadhāmi dadhé</i>
	2.			<i>dadhāsi dhatsé</i>
	3. <i>dadāti</i>		<i>dazdai, dastai</i>	<i>dadhāti dhatte</i>
	1. <i>dadmahi</i>	YH	<i>dadmāsi</i> YH	<i>dadhmasi</i>
	2.	<i>mīmāṭha?</i>		<i>dhatta</i>
	3. <i>dadati</i>			<i>dádhati dadhate</i>
inj.	1.			<i>adadhām</i>
	2. <i>dadāh</i>			<i>adadhās adatthas</i>
	3. <i>dadāt</i>	<i>ruraust, didans</i>		<i>adadhāt adhatta</i>
	1.			
	2.			<i>adhatta</i>
	3. <i>dadat</i>	<i>zazat, jigrzat dadyat</i>		<i>adadhur</i>

sub. 1.				<i>dadhāni</i>	
2.				<i>dadhas</i>	<i>dadhase</i>
3. <i>dadat</i>				<i>dadhat</i>	<i>dadhate</i>
1.			?* <i>hiścāmadai</i> YH	<i>dadhāma</i>	(<i>dadāmahe</i>)
2.	<i>mimaθa?</i>				
3. <i>dadān</i>	<i>zazanti</i>	<i>dadantai</i>		<i>dadhan</i>	
opt. 1.					
2.					
3. <i>dadīt</i>		<i>dadīta</i>		(<i>dadyāt</i>)	<i>dadhīta</i>
1.					<i>dadhīmahi</i>
2.					
3.					(<i>dadīran</i>)
imp. 2.		<i>dasva</i>		<i>dhehi etc.</i>	<i>dhatsva</i>
3. <i>dadātu</i>				<i>dadhātu</i>	
2.		<i>dazdvam, idvam</i>		<i>dhatta, (dadāta)</i>	
3.				<i>dádhatu</i>	
inf.		<i>dazdyāi, iṛdyāi</i>			

Notes

Active

The 3 pl. has /-at(i)/ < *-nt(i). Avestan has no *r*-ending for this form.

The subjunctive has zero grade of the root: **da-d(h)H-a-t*.

On /*dadīt*/ see on the optative, §6.

Middle

/*dastai*/ is from **da-dH-tai* > **dadtai* > **da(t)stai*, and /*dazdai*/ from **da-dhH-tai* > **da(d)zdhai* > *dazdai*. (In Sanskrit the Bartholomae-form was analogically replaced.) If -*dH*- resulted phonetically in -*dh*-, -*d*- must have been restored.

Imp. /*dasva*/ is from **da-dH-sva* > **datstva* (**da-dhH-sva* would have given **dadzva* > **dazva*). Thus **da-d(h)H-dhvam* > **da(d)zdvam*.

73. The nasal presents

Nasal presents of the old type *CR-n(e)C*- are well represented. The forms are exactly parallel to the Sanskrit ones. Only the *nā*-presents have single -*n*- where Sanskrit has -*ni*- from -*nH*-. As in Sanskrit, the *nā*-presents introduced the anteconsonantal form of the zero grade before the -*n*-: /*zān*-, Skt. *jānāti*, probably /*frīn*-, if the -*i*- is really long (*hunāitī* might have /*hūn*-/).

The full grade in the plural (injunctive) /*db(a)nautal*/ has parallels in Sanskrit, *ākṛṇota* beside more frequent forms in -*nuta*.

Stems

1. Stems in -nu

/ci-/ choose, /cinau-/ (-); /cinaut/, /cinvant-/.

/dbu-/ deceive, /db(a)nau-/ (dabh-, dabhnuhī); 2 pl. inj. *dabānaotā* /db(a)nautā/. The metre lacks a syllable (32.5a), which is why -an- has been assumed. It could be the vocalization of a difficult consonant cluster. Perhaps we must read /tā < ā > dbnautā/. Sanskrit introduced the full grade *dabh-*.

/kar-/ make, /krnav-/ (kṛ-, kṛnāvan); 3 pl. sub. /krnavan/.

/spas-/ look upon, /spašnu-/ (-); /spašnuθa/.

/sru-/ hear, /srnu-/ (śṛṇóti); /srnavant-/ YH.

/var-/ turn, /vnav-/ (-); 3 sg. sub. /vnavatai/ 31.17a. The text makes it probable that the form is subjunctive, which would have been /-navatai/, but the writing *varānvaitē* is against this reading. Also /-nvatai/ cannot be (3 sg.) indicative.

2. Stems in -nā

/frī/ please, /frīn-, frīḍan-/ (prī-, prīṇāti); 1 sg. subj. /frīnāi/, YH /frīḍanmahil/, see II 13.5. (The participle /frīnamna-/ is thematic.)

/hū-/ urge, /hūnā-, huḍan-/ (sū-, -); /hūnāti/, YH /huḍanmahil/ (see II 13.5).

/var-/ choose, /vrn-/ (vṛ-, vṛṇāte); /vrnai, vrntai, vrnata/.

/zan-, xšnā-/ get to know, /zān-/ (jñā-, jñānā); 2 pl. imp. /zānta/ 29.11b. The form is written *zānatā*, but the verse is one syllable too long; from *nH-ta we expect /-nta/.

3. Stems in -n(a)C-

/ciš-/ teach, /cinas-, ciš/ (-); 3 sg. inj. /cinas/ 44.6d, /ciždi/; YH /cišmahil/.

/ciš-/ resulted from *cinš-.

/ciθ-/ recognize, /cinaθ-/ (cit-?); 3 sg. inj. /cinas/ 32.5c.

/marc-/ destroy, /mrnc-/ (mṛc-, -); 2 pl. M. /mrngdvail/, 3 pl. /mrncatai/, opt. /mrnšyāl/ with cy > šy, inf. /mrngdyāi/.

/marz-/ destroy, /mrnž-/ (-); inf. /mrnždyāi/.

/miz-/ ?, /minaz-, miz-/ (-); 2 sg. /minaš, mizan/.

/vid-/ find, /vinad-/ (vid-, cf. vindāti); /vinasti/.

4. Stems of these types have been thematized:

/mrnda-/ neglect, from /mrd-/.

/prna-/ fill, from /par-/ for *pr-n-aH-.

/z(a)rna-/ make, be angry, from /zar-/ for *zr-n-aH-. Opt. /z(a)rnaimal/.

The form is written *zaran-*, which makes the verse one syllable too long. -ara- may be due to influence of other forms (influencing *zərə-), or stand for -arə- with -ar- from -rH- before consonant secondarily introduced.

Nasal presents (all forms)

Active		-nu-	-nā-	-naC-
ind.	3.		<i>hunāti</i>	<i>vinasti</i>
	1.		<i>huṇanmahi</i> YH,	<i>ciṣmahi</i> YH
			<i>frīṇanmahi</i> YH	
	2.	<i>spaṣṇuṭha</i>		
inj.	2.			<i>miṇaṣ</i>
	3.	<i>cinaut</i>		<i>cinas, cinas</i>
	2.	<i>db(a)naula</i>		
	3.			<i>mizan</i>
sub.	3.	<i>krnavan</i>		
opt.	3.			<i>mrnṣyāt</i>
imp.	2.			<i>ciṣdi</i>
	2.		<i>zānta</i>	
ptc.		<i>cinvant-,</i> <i>srnvant-</i> YH		

Middle

ind.	1.		<i>urnai</i>	
	3.		<i>urnlai</i>	
	2.			<i>mrngdvai</i>
	3.			<i>mrncalai</i>
inj.	3. pl.		<i>urnata</i>	
sub.	1		<i>frīnāi</i>	
	3.	<i>urnavatai</i>		
inf.				<i>mrngdyāi,</i> <i>mrnṣdyāi</i>
ptc.			<i>(frīnamna-)</i>	

8. The thematic present

Stems

1. Root presents

1a. Full grade of the root

/arja-/ be worth (*árhati*)/ava-/ help (*ávati*)/bara-/ bear (*bhárati*)/bauda-/ be aware (*bódhati*)/bava-/ be (*bhávati*)

/dava-/? '?' (?)

/daxša-/ reveal (-)

- /dbanza-/* consolidate, support (*bamhate?*)
/dvāra-/ *dvāra-* hurry (-)
/frāda-/ increase, further (-)
/haca-/ follow (*sácate*)
/huāra-/ *x^vāra-* take an oath? (-)
/mara-/ recite, keep in mind (*smáratī*)
/mrauca-/ sink (*mrócatī*)
/nada-/ cry (*nádatī*)
/rapa-/ support (*rápātī*)
/sanha-/ announce (*śámsatī*)
/sāra-/ *sāra-* unite (-)
/šyava-/ activate (*cyávatī*)
/θvaya-/ frighten (-)
/vada-/ carry, lead? (-)
/vaida-/ find (-)
/vana-/ overcome (*vánatī*)
/vāpa-/ *vāpa-* scatter, snatch away, cut down (*vápātī*)
/varda-/ grow (*várdhatī*)
/vaižda-/ lift, raise (*vīdayatī*)
/xrausa-/ scream (*króśatī*)
/yaza-/ adore (*yájatī*)

It is not known why some forms have a long *ā*; it may be only graphic.

1b. Zero grade of the root

- /iśa-/* set going (*iše*)
/mržda-/ be merciful (-)
/sprza-/ strive (*spṛháyatī*)
/visa-/ be prepared (*viśátī*)

With reduplication

- /īra-/* rise (imf. *áirat*); */īratul* 53.8d.
/xšta-/ stand, from **hišta-*

2. Original nasal presents

a. With roots in stop

- /mṛnda-/* destroy (*márdnte*)

b. With roots in laryngeal

- /frīna-/* dedicate oneself; please (*prīṇātī*)
/pṛna-/ fill (*pṛṇātī*)
/zarna-/ be angry (*hṛṇīlē*)

3. With suffix *-ya-*

a. With zero grade of the root

- /dīvyā-/* endeavour? (*dīvyatī?*)

/drujya-/ deceive (*drúhyati*), in /adrujyant-/

/dbiṣya-/ be at enmity (*dviṣ-*)

/dya-/ distribute (*dyāti*)

/dya-/ bind (*dyāti*)

/iṣya-/ urge (*iṣyati*)

/kāya-/ desire (*kāya-*)

/manya-/ think (*mányate*)

/piṣya-/ ?

/siṣṭya-/ retreat (-)

/sya-/ cut (*chyāti*)

/ufya-/ sing, eulogize (-)

/uxṣya-/ grow (*ukṣá-*, *úkṣa-*)

/vaṣya-/ totter (root *vanc-*), see 12.1.

/vṛjya-/ work (-)

b. With full grade of the root

/ansya-/ attain (-)

/nasya-/ disappear (*násyati*)

/saṣya-/ learn (*śaknóti*)

/spasya-/ look, perceive (*pásyati*)

/θrāya-/ protect (*tráyatā*)

With reduplication

/īzya-/ desire, **Hi-HHgh-*, root *āz-* (*íhate*).

For the denominatives with -ya- see §14.

4. Suffix -aya-

a. with zero grade

/iṣaya-/ prosper (*iṣáyati*); ptc. /iṣayant-/ 50.9d.

/rudaya-/ lament, root *rud-* id. (*rodáyati*); 3 sg M /rudayata/ 44.20d

/rupaya-/ cause pain ?, *rup-* break (*ropayati*); /rupayanti/ 48.10c.

If the *u* of these verbs is really long, as the spelling indicates, it must be analogical. The second verb seems to have causative meaning, but the interpretation is uncertain.

From roots in -ā

/xṣaya-/ rule, *xṣā-* id. (*kṣáyati*); /xṣayah/ etc.

/zaya-/ win, from **zH-aya-*, *zā-* id.; /zayaθa/ 53.7d. (Or sub. aor. of *zi-*.)

/zuṇaya-/ call, from **zuH-aya-* < **ḡhuH-eiō-*, root *zū-* id. (*hváyati*); 1 sg /zuṇayā/, /zuṇayantai/ ptc. dat. sg.

b. with full grade. This had PIE *o*, which gave *ā* when Brugmann's Law operated. The long vowel has been introduced in all roots ending in one consonant except /savaya-. Many verbs have causative meaning, and it is the normal way in which causatives were formed, but others have at most an intensive meaning, and in some cases it is not clear.

b1. causatives

/bānaya-/ make ill, *ban-* fall ill (-); /bānayan/.

/mānaya-/ resemble (< make one think of), *man-* think (*mānáyati*); /mānayat/ 49.2a.

/saucaya-/ kindle, *suc-* burn (*śocáyati*); /saucayat/ 32.14c.

/srāvaya-/ make heard, *sru-* hear (*śraváyati*); opt. /srāvayaima/ 49.6c.

/-uxšaya-/ make grow, *uxš-/vaxš-* (*ukšáyati*); in /arta-ṛuxšayant-/ 33.9a.

/vardaya-/ cause to grow, *vrđ-* grow (*vardháyati*); opt. M. /vardayaita/ 50.3c

YH /vātaya-/ inspire, *vat-* understand (*vātáyati*); /vātayāmah/ 35.7, /vātayatu/ 35.6.

YH /vaidaya-/ make known, *vid-* know (*vedáyati*); /vaidayāmah/ 36.6, 41.1.

b2 non-causatives

/dābaya-/ deceive, *dab-* id. (cs. *dambháyati*); /dābayat/ 43.6e.

/dāraya-/ hold, *dar-* id. (*dhāráyati*); /dārayah/ 32.1c, /dārayat/ 31.7b.

/daxšaya-/ teach, *daxš-* id. (-); /daxšaya/ 33.13c.

/dbāvaya-/ delude, *dbu-* id. (-); /dbāvayat/ 31.17b.

/rāhaya-/ alienate, *rah-* id. (-); /rāhayan/ 32.12a.

/rāšaya-/ damage, *raš-* id. (-); inf. /rāšayahai/ 49.3b, 51.9c.

/savaya-/ save, *sū-* id. (-); /savayah/ 51.9c.

/varzaya-/ be effective, *vrz-* work (-); /varzayantah/ 45.4c. The form has also been considered as a denominative.

5. Suffix -sa-

a. -sa- from *-so-

/baxša-/ distribute, *baj-* (-); imp. /baxšahva/ 33.10b.

/mazdāha-/ bear in mind (-); imp. /mazdāhadvam/ 45.1c.

/xšnauša-/ satisfy; /xšnaušamnah/ 46.18d.

b. desideratives

See §13.2.

c. -sa- from *-ske/o-, with zero grade of the root except those ending in -ā.

/isa-/ desire, *iš-* (*icchāti*); /isaya/ 1s opt. M. 43.8b.

/jasa-/ go, root *gam-* (*gacchati*)

/išsa-/ seek, *ižd-* (-):

/nrfsa-/ wane, *nr̥p-* (-).

/pr̥sa-/ ask, *pr̥s-* (*pr̥cchati*).

/yasa-/ hold, *yam-* (*yacchati*).

/yāsa-/ long for, *yā-* (-).

6. Suffix -va-

/jīva-/ live, *jī-* (*jīvati*).

/raiθva-/ pervade?, *riθ-* (-).

See under 8.

7. -va-ya- is found in

/tarvaya-/ overcome, root *tṛ-*; /tarvayāma/ 28.6c. The form is often considered a Late Avestan intrusion, for *tarva-, Skt. *tūrvati*, because the verse is one syllable too long.

8. Quite isolated is

/vaina-/ see (*véna*ti).

Thematic presents, active (examples)

ind.	1.	/-āmi/	avāmi
		/-ā/	īzyā, ufyā, prsā
	2.	/-ahi/	vainahi, θvayahi, xšayahi
	3.	/-ati/	barati, sanhati, nrfsati, uxšyati
	1.	/-āmahi/	sanhāmahi, jīvāmahi, YH vātayāmahi
	2.	/-aθa/	išaθa, sašyaθa
	3.	/-anti/	maranti, YH vananti
inj.	1.		
	2.	/-ah/	jasah, uxšyah, didržah
	3.	/-at/	arjat, mṇdat, prsat, jasat, dārayat
	1.	/-āma/	tarvayāma ¹
	2.		
	3.	/-an/	mrndañ, vardan, bānayan
sub.	1.	/aṇāni/	sanhaṇāni; ufyāni ? ²
		/-aṇā/	xšayaṇā
	2.		
	3.	/-aṇat/	išaṇat
	1.		
	2.		
	3.	/-aṇanti/	išaṇanti
		/-aṇan/	raṇršyaṇan, YH vrzyaṇan ³
opt.	1.		
	2.	/-aiš/	rapaiš
	3.	/-ait/	frādait, jasait, išsait, vādayait
	1.	/-aima/	vanaima, zarnaima,
	2.		
	3.		
imp.	2.	/-a/	rapa, vaina, prsa, uxšya, xšaya
	3.	/-atu/	īratu, YH vrzyatu-, vātayatu
	2.	/-ata/	vainata, jasata/
	3.	/-antu/	

¹ see supra section 8

² see under the subjunctive, §5

³ in the YH it cannot be verified if it was -aṇa- or -ā-.

Thematic presents, middle (examples).

ind.	1.	/-ai/	<i>īsai?</i> , <i>yasai</i>
	2.		
	3.	/-atai/	<i>hacatai</i> , <i>yazatai</i> , <i>prsatai</i> , <i>manyatai</i>
	1.	/-āmadaī/	YH <i>yazāmadaī</i> , <i>hiścāmadaī</i> , <i>visāmadaī</i> ¹
	2.	/-advai/	<i>didragžadvai</i>
	3.	/-antai/	<i>hacantai</i> , <i>frādantai</i>
inj.	1.		
	2.		
	3.	/-ata/	<i>didaršata</i> , <i>manyata</i>
	1.		
	2.		
	3.	/-anta/	<i>dvaranta</i> , <i>manyanta</i>
	3 du	/-aitam/	<i>jasaitam</i>
	1.	/-aṛāi/ ²	<i>šyavaṛāi</i> , <i>prsaṛāi</i> , <i>manyaṛāi</i>
		/-aṛānai/	
	2.		
	3.		
	1.	/-aṛāmadaī/	YH <i>is(aṛ)āmadaī</i> ³
	2.		
	3.	/-aṛantai/	<i>hacaṛantai</i>
opt.	1.	/-aya/	<i>īsaya</i>
	2.		
	3.	/-aita/	<i>vardayaita</i>
	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
imp.	2.	/-ahva/	<i>baxšahva</i>
	3.	/-atām/	<i>urzyatām</i> , <i>dyatām</i>
	2.	/-advam/	<i>vaidadvam</i>
	3.	/-antām/	<i>xrausantām</i>

¹ all these forms are written with short *a*.

² on the forms with /-āi/ see on the subjunctive.

³ /aṛā/ or /ā/ cannot be verified.

9. The aorist

91. The root aorist

Thirty five roots have a root aorist. The roots in *-ā* are treated in a separate section.

Ablaut

The singular indicative/injunctive active and the subjunctive active and middle (with the exception of */buva-/*, Skt. *bhuva-*) have full grade, the other forms zero grade. The 1. and 2. pl. indicative active have often full grade in Sanskrit. In Gathic only one form is known, */aṣta/*, but it is now mostly interpreted as 3 sg. M. The only other relevant form is */caišta/*, for which it is not evident that it is a 2 pl.

The root *gam-* has */jam-/* in the optative, which is the normal development of **m* before *y* (cf. above). (Phonetically we would expect **gamyā-*. The introduction of *j-* is not evident: mostly Avestan preserves the regular phonetic form. It might have followed the subjunctive.)

The optative has a few full grade forms. They were discussed in §6. A problem is */ciθīl/* for expected **/caiθīl/* or **/ciθyāl/*.

The imperative has some full grade forms, as in Sanskrit. The Gathic material allows no conclusions, but that */gadil/* : */jantul/* must be old. The full grade forms of *sru-* have exact counterparts in Sanskrit: */srautul/* - *śrōtu*, */srauta/* - *śrōta*.

/var-/ in middle forms represents **u_lH-*.

/manīmadi/ YH may have analogically introduced *man-*, to avoid **mnīmadi*.

In */aršval/*, written *ārašvā*, the full-grade must be analogical (cf. Skt. opt. M. *arīta*). It is also found in Sanskrit.

k : c and *g : j* have been mostly preserved in their original position, whereas Sanskrit generalized the non-palatalized form. */cartl/*, */cara-/* (root *kr-*) and */jan, jama-/* (*gam-*) show that the root had *e*-vocalism, */yujan/* that the ending was **-ent*. In the thematic inflection the palatalized form has been generalized (type *sácate*), hence 1 sg. sub. */yaujāl/*. On the opt. */jamyā-/* see above.

Stems

The roots that have a root aorist are:

CaC	ah-	CaCC	syazd- (<i>sižd-</i>)
	hac-		vaxš-
	nas- attain		
	vac-		
	grab-		
	xrap- YH		

Caḍ	daḍ-, gaḍ-, zaḍ-	CāC	rād-
CaR	ar-	CaRC	ard-
	dar-		dars
	kar-		grab-
	var- lock		mard-
	var- choose		varz- YH
CaN	gam-	CaNC	sanh-
	yam-		
	man-YH		
Ci	ci-	CiC	ciš-
	zi-		ciθ-
			miθ-
Cu	stru-	CuC	guš-
			yuj-
			xrud-
Cuḍ	buḍ-		

/ah-/ throw, /ah-/ (-); /as, ahaī/. Cf. §2.

/ar-/ rise, /ar-/ (ṛ-, arṭa/); /aram, arantai, aršva/ (all written with āṛ-).

/ard-/ flourish, /ard-/ (ṛdh-, ṛdhāt); /ardat/.

/buḍ-/ be, /buḍ-/ (bhū-, ābhūt); /buvat(i), buvanti, YH buyāma/.

/ci-/ separate, /cay-, šy-/ (-); 3 pl. inj. M. /šyata/, sub. /cayaṭa/.

/ciš-/ promise, /caiš-/ (-); /caišam, caiš, caišt, caišta/. That /caišta/ is 2 pl. A. is not clear from the text.

/ciθ-/ erkennen, /caiθ-, ciθ-/ (-); /(cista, caiṭat, caiṭatai, ciṭit?/). It has been objected that we expect **caiṭit*, but such 'incorrect' reshufflings do occur: instead of a 'correct' analogical **ciṭyāt* a form /*ciṭit*/ may have arisen.

/dar-/ hold, /dr-/ (dhṛ-, dhṛthās); /drta, drīta/.

/dars-/ see, /dars-/ (dṛṣ-, ādarsam); /darsam, adarsam, darsāni/.

/gam-/ go, /gam-, jam-, gm-/ (gam-, āgan); /jan, gman/, sub. /jama-/ , opt. /jamyā-/ , /gadi, jantul/ (see paradigm).

/grab-/ grasp, /grab-/ (grabh-; āgrabham); /grabam/.

/guš-/ hear, /guš-/ (ghuṣ-, -); inj. M. /gušta/.

/hac-/ follow, /hac, sc-/ (sac-, sacāna-); /scantul/.

/kar-/ make, /car-, kr-/ (kṛ-, ākar); /cart, carāni, carat(i)/, YH /kršva/.

/man-/ think, /man-/ (man-, āmata); 2, 3 sg. inj. M. /manha, mantal/, sub. /manāi/, opt. /manimadi/.

/mard-/ neglect, /mard-/ (mṛdh-, mṛdhyaś); /mardati/.

/miθ-/ rob; /maiθ-, miθ-/ (-); /maist, maiṭat, miṭyāt/.

/nas-/ attain, /nas-, as-/ (aś-, āṣṭa, aśyāt); sub. */nasat/ written *nāsat* with unexplained *a*; /asyāt/ in *frosyāt*; 3 sg. inj. M. /astā/ in *frastā* with unexplained *a*.

/rād-/ accomplish, /rād-/ (rādh-, sub. *rādhat*); sub. /rādat, rādanti/.

/sanh-/ announce, /sah-/ (śams-, -); /sahyāt/.

/sižd-/ retreat, /syazd-/ (-); sub. /syazdat/.

/sru-/hear, /srau-, sru-/ (śru-, áśrot); /sraṁma, srautu, srauta, asru(ž)dvam/, 3 du. /asruvātam/. The -ž- must be from the enlarged root /sruš-/.

/vac-/ speak, /uc-/ (vac-, -); 3 sg. imp. M. /ucām/.

/var-/ choose, /var-/ (vṛ-, ávṛta); /varta, varmadī/.

/var-/ lock in, ward off, /var-/ (vṛ-, ávar); /varāni, varšva?/.

/varz-/ work, /varz-/ (-); 2 sg. inj. YH /varš, varzīma/.

/vaxš-/ grow, /vaxš-, uxš-?/ (ukṣ-, -); /vaxšt, vaxšat, vaxšantail; /uxšīḍa/ 1 sg. opt M. in *uxšyā* 33.10c?

/xrap-/ be adequate, /xrap-/ (kṛp-?, ákṛpṛan); /xrapaṭil YH.

/xrud-/ make afraid, /xraud-/ (krudh-, -); /xraudat(i)/.

/yam-/ hold, /yam-/ (yam-, sub. *yámat*); 3 sg. M. /yantal, /yamatail.

/yuj-/ yoke, /yau-, yug-/ (yuj-, áyujī); /yauḡt, yujan, yaujā, yaujantail.

/zi-/ abandon, /zay-/ (-); sub. /zayaḡa/. (Or present from *zā-*, **zHaya-*.)

Inflection

Root aorist, active (examples)

ind./inj.

1.				<i>caišam</i>
2.				<i>caiš</i>
3.	<i>jan</i>	<i>yaugt</i>	<i>maist</i>	<i>caišt</i>
2.				<i>caišta?</i>

3.	<i>gman</i>	<i>yujan</i>		
sub.				
1.	<i>jamā</i>	<i>yaujā</i>		<i>darsāni</i>
3.	<i>jamat(i)</i>		<i>maiḡat</i>	<i>caiḡat</i>
2.				<i>cayaḡa</i>
3.	<i>jaman</i>			<i>rādanti</i>

opt.

2.	<i>jamyāh</i>	YH		
3.	<i>jamyāt</i>		<i>miḡyāt</i>	<i>ciḡīl?</i>
1.	<i>jamyāma</i>			<i>srauṁma</i>

imp.

2.	<i>gadi</i>			
3.	<i>jantu</i>			
2.				<i>srauta</i>
3.				<i>scantu</i>

In the first table the active forms of four verbs are given to show the ablaut, with in the fifth column examples of all the other forms found in Gathic. The second tabel gives all forms attested in Gathic. The third table gives all middle forms.

Note 3 pl. M. /šy-ata/. This is the normal ending in Vedic too. It contradicts Act. /-an/. Vedic has *ákrata* against *kránta*, which suggests that the zero grade was caused by the augment. Why this form was generalized, even in Avestan where the augment was rare, is not clear.

Root aorists, active (all forms)

ind./inj.

1. *aram, caišam, (a)darsam, grabam*
2. *as, caiš varš YH*
3. *cart, caišt, jan, maist, vaxšt, yaugt*

1.

2. *caišta?*

3. *gman, yujan*

sub.

1. *carāni, darsāni, jamā, varāni, yaujā*

2.

3. *ardat, ahat, buvat(i), caiθat, carat(i), darsat, jamat(i), maiθat, mardati, *nasat, rādat, syazdat, xrapati, xraudat(i)*

1.

2. *cayaθa, zayaθa?*

3. *buvanti, jaman, rādanti*

opt.

1.

2. *jamyāh*

3. *asyāt, jamyāt, miθyāt, sahyāt, ciθīl?*

1. *buyāma YH, jamyāma, sravīma, varzīma YH*

2.

3.

imp.

2. *gadi*

3. *jāntu, srautu*

2. *sraula*

3. *scantū*

Root aorist, middle (all forms)

ind./inj.

1.

2. *manha* YH3. *(a)cista, drta, manta gušta, varta, yanta*3. du. *[a]sruvātam*1. *varmadi*2. *[a]sru(ṣ)dvam*3. *śyata*

sub.

1. *manāi*

2.

3. *caiṭatai, yamatai*3. du. *jamaitai*

1.

2.

3. *arantai, yaujantai, vaxšantai*

opt.

1. *uxšīṇa ?*

2.

3. *drīta*1. *manīmadi* YH

2.

3.

imp.

2. *aršva, kršva* YH, *varšva?*3. *ucām*

91.1 Root aorists of roots in -aṇ

The aorists of roots in -aṇ present special problems because of the final laryngeal.

Stems

There are three roots: /daṇ-/ṣ, /gaṇ-/ṣ, YH /zaṇ-/ṣ.

/daṇ-/ give, put, /dā-, daṇ-, d-/; see paradigm, with the Sanskrit forms.

/gaṇ-/ go, /gaṇ-/ (gā-, gāt); /gaṇat/.

/zaṇ-/ win, /zaṇ-/ (hā-, -); YH /za(ṇ)īma/.

*Inflection**Active*

Ind./inj. Avestan has full grade in 1 and 2 pl., as has Sanskrit. (These could be independant innovations.) In the 3 pl. Skt. *-ur* replaces **-ŋt*, but Avestan has replaced **/dan/* < **dH-ent* by */dān/*.

Sub. All forms have */-aʔ-/*.

Opt. */dyaʔam/* from *-yaH-am*. YH */zaima/* represents **zaH-iH-ma*, with full grade (still pronounced */zaʔīma/?*); see on the opt., §6.

Middle

Ind./inj. Avestan generalized the full grade in the singular (to avoid **tsa* > **sa*, **dta* > **sta*?). 3 pl. *data* < **dH-ŋto* (as opposed to */-an/* in the active; cf. §91). The 1 du. */dvadi/* also has zero grade.

Sub. Full grade. Note */daʔadvai/* written *daduyē*.

Opt. Zero grade **dH-iH-a*, **dH-iH-sa*.

Imp. Avestan introduced the full grade.

In general Avestan introduced the full grade in those cases where the zero grade (with $\emptyset < H$) would have given a quite irregular form.

Root aorist of roots in *-aʔ* (all forms)

	Active	Middle	Sanskrit Active	Middle
ind./inj.				
1.			<i>adhām</i>	(<i>ádi</i>)
2.	<i>dāh</i>	<i>dāha</i>	<i>adhās</i>	<i>adhithās</i>
3.	<i>dāt</i>	<i>dāta</i>	<i>adhāt</i>	<i>adhita</i>
1 du.		<i>dvadi</i>		
1.	<i>dāma</i>		(<i>asthāma</i>)	<i>dhīmahe</i>
2.	<i>dāta</i>		(<i>sthāta</i>)	
3.	<i>dān</i>	<i>data</i>	<i>adhur</i>	
sub.				
1.		<i>daʔānai</i>		
2.	<i>daʔahi</i>	<i>daʔahai/dāhai</i> YH	<i>dhās</i>	
3.	<i>daʔat gaʔat</i>		<i>dhāt</i>	
	<i>daʔati</i>	<i>daʔatai</i>	<i>dhāti</i>	
1.	<i>daʔāma?</i>		<i>dhāma</i>	<i>dhāmahe</i>
2.		<i>daʔadvai</i>		
3.	<i>daʔan</i>	<i>daʔantai</i>		

opt.			
1.	<i>dyaṛam</i>	<i>diṛa</i>	<i>dheyām</i>
2.		<i>dīša</i>	
3.	<i>dyāt, dāyāt</i>		
1.	<i>za(ṛ)īma</i>	YH	
2.			
3.			<i>dheyūr</i>
imp.			
2.	<i>dādi</i>	<i>dāhva</i>	<i>dhiṣvá</i>
3.	<i>dātu</i>	<i>daṛām</i>	<i>dhātu</i>
2.	<i>dāta</i>		<i>dhāta</i>
3.			<i>dhāntu</i>

92. The thematic aorist

Stems

The roots are in zero grade. From *āp-* the aorist is written *apa-*, which must be a later shortening. (*āp-* results from **HaHp-*; zero grade **HHp-* would have given **p-* in Indo-Iranian.) From *taš-* we find */taš-a-/*, to avoid a consonant cluster. The stem */hana-/* continues **snH-a-*.

/āp-/ obtain, */āpa-/* (*āp-*, *āpat*); */āpaima/* YH.

/guš-/ hear, */guša-/* (*ghuṣ-*, -); 3 sg. inj. M. */gušata/*, */gušahva*, *gušadvam/*.

/han-/ win, */hana-/* (*sana-*); */hanaṛānil/*, YH */hanaima/*.

/par-/ cross, */fra-/* (*pr-*, -); sub. */fraṛā/*.

/sāh-/ teach, */siša-/* (*śās-*, *śiṣa-*); */sišait/*, *siša/*.

/taš-/ shape, */taša-/* (*takṣ-*, *tākṣa-*); */tašah/*, *tašat/*.

/xsā-/ observe, */xsa-/* (-); */xsah/*, *xsaṛāi/*.

/xšā/ rule, */xša-/* (*kṣā-*, -); */xšanta/*, YH */xšaita/*, imp. */xšantām/*.

²*/vid-/* find, */vida-/* (*vid-*, *vida-/*); */vidah/*, *vidat/*, *vida/*.

³*/vid-/* or */vi-daṛ-/* satisfy, */vida-/* (*vidh-*, *vidha-*); */vidaṛat(i)/*.

Reduplicated roots:

²*/nas-/* disappear, */nansa-/* (*naś-*, *nīnaśat*, *neśat*); */anansat/*, *nansat/*.

/vac-/ say, */vauca-/* (*vac-*, *voca-*); YH */vaucas-/*, */vaucat/*, YH */avaucāma/*,

/vaucaṛā-, *vaucaṛat/*, YH */vauc(aṛ)āma/*, *vaucaima/*, */vaucal/*.

/var-/ turn, */vavra-/* (-); */vavraṛatai/*, *vavraya/*, *vavraimadi/*. Uncertain.

Inflection

All forms are given in the table. The inflection is the normal thematic one.

Thematic aorist (all forms)

	Active	Middle
ind./inj.		
1.		
2.	<i>tašah, xsah, vidah, YH vaucas-</i>	
3.	<i>tašat, vidat, (a)nansat, vaucat</i>	<i>gušata</i>
1.	<i>avaucāma YH</i>	
2.		
3.		<i>xšanta</i>
sub.		
1.	<i>fraṇā, hanaṇāni, vaucaṇā-</i>	<i>xsaṇāi</i>
2.		
3.	<i>vidaṇat(i), vaucaṇat</i>	<i>vavraṇatai</i>
1.	<i>vauca(aṇ)āma YH</i>	
2.		
3.		
opt.		
1.		<i>vavraya</i>
2.		
3.	<i>sišait</i>	<i>xšaita YH</i>
1.	<i>āpaima YH, hanaima YH, vaucaima- YH</i>	<i>vavraimadi</i>
2.		
3.		
imp.		
2.	<i>siša, vida, vauca</i>	<i>gušahva</i>
3.		
2.		<i>gušadvam</i>
3.		<i>xšantām</i>

93. The s-aorist

Avestan does not have *iš*-aorists, because the laryngeal was not vocalized here. The only disyllabic root from which Gathic has an *s*-aorist is */van-/*, but this has an *s*-aorist (not an *iš*-aorist) in Sanskrit too. There is no *sa*-aorist either.

Stems

All forms have lengthened grade in the ind.-inj. active, full grade elsewhere. For the plural ind./inj./imp. there are two forms, where the long *ā* is not reliable. Gathic is here slightly more archaic than Vedic, where a few middle zero forms were created. On the origin of this ablaut see on the static inflection, 71a.

It seems most useful to group the roots according to their final consonant. The *-s* of the stem is often changed into *-š*. Thus we find before consonant *s/z*, *š/ž*; before vowel *s/z* becomes *h*. The stems found are:

roots in	ind.-inj. Act.	other Act.	Middle
velar			
	/marc-/		/marxš-/
	/hac-/		/haxš-/
	/baj-/	/baxš-/	/baxš-/
	/vraj-/	/vraxš-/ ¹	
dent.	/rud-/		/raus-/
	/sand-/	/sāns-/ ²	/sans-/ ²
sibil.	/dis-/	/daiš-/	
	/fras-/		/fraš-/
	/iś-/	/āiś-/	
	/nas-/	/naš-/ ³	
	/θvars-/		/θvarž-/
	/varz-/	/varš-/	/varš-/
-r	/dar-/	/dārš-/	
	/sar-/		/sarš-/ ⁴
-nasal	/gam-/	/janh-/	
	/man-/		/mans-, manh-/
	/van-/	/vāns-/ ⁵	
	/nai-/	/naiš-/	
-i(ṛ)	/niṛ-/		
-u	/stru-/		/srauš-/
	/θru-/		/θrauš-/
	/xśnu-/	/xśnauš-/	/xśnauš-/
-aṛ	/raṛ-/		/rāh-/
	/saṛ-/		/sās-/
	/staṛ-/	/stāh-/	
	/θraṛ-/		/θrās-/

1. Roots in velar (stem in *-xš-*)

/marc-/ destroy, /marxš-/ (*mṛc-*, *mṛkṣiṣṭa*); sub. /marxšatai/. Isolated *sa-* subjunctive.

/hac-/ follow, /haxš-/ (*sac-*, *sakṣat*); /haxšāi/.

/baj-/ distribute, /baxš-/ (*bhaj-*, *abhakta*, *bhakṣat*); /baxšati/ (or thematic present), *baxṣta*/.

/vraj-/ walk, /vraxš-, vraxš-/ (*vraj(i)-*, *avrājīl*); 3 pl. inj. /vraxšat/, 3 sg. sub. /vraxšat/. The latter form is written with *ā*, which may be graphic (after *v*) or influenced by the injunctive.

1) written with long *ā*, *urvāxš-* 2) written *sas-* 3) written *nāš-* 4) written *sārāš-* 5) written *vās-*

2. Roots in dental (stem in -s, -z)

/rud-/ lament, */raus-/* (*rud-*, -); 3 sg. M. */rausta/*.

/sand-/ seem, */sāns-/* (*chand-*, *achān*, *áchānta*); 2, 3 sg. inj */sāns*, *sāns/*, 2 pl. imp. */sansta/*.

/vid-/ know/find, */vais-/*? (-); imp. */vaizdvam/*; cf. inf. */vaizdyāi/*; also taken as perfect, but */vaida/* never has middle endings.

3. Root in sibilant (s, z < PIE *k, *g(h); stem in -š)

/dis-/ show, */dāiš-*, *daiš-/* (*diš-*, *adikṣi*); 2 sg. inj. */dāiš/*, sub. */daišā/*, imp. */daiši/*.

/fras-/ ask, */fraš-/* (*praś-*, *áprākṣam*); */fraši*, *frašta*, *frašval*.

/nas-/ attain, */nāš-/* (-); sub. */našāma/*, written *nāš-*.

/θvars-/ shape, */θvarš-/* (-); */θvarždvam/*.

/varz-/ work, */varš/* (-); */varšā*, *varšati*, *varšanti*, *varšānai*, *varšatai/*. Isolated *sa*-subjunctive.

/iš-/ arrive, */āiš-/*? (-); 2, 3 sg. inj. */āiš/*.

4. Roots in -r (stem in -rš)

/dar-/ hold, */dārš-/* (*dhṛ-*, -); */dāršt/*. But see IV 821.

/sar-/ unite, */sarš-/* (-); 3 sg. M */saršta/*. The *ā* in *sāršta* will have been taken from the present.

5. Roots in nasal (stem in -ans, -anh)

/gam-/ go, */janh-/* (*gam-*, *agasmahi*); */janhati/*, an isolated *sa*-subjunctive.

/man-/ think, */mans-*, *manh-/* (*man-*, *maṁsi*); */manhi*, *mansta*, (a)mahmadi, *manhāi/*. In */mahmadi/* the *n* of */manh-/* was dissimilated, cf. Skt. *agasmahi*.

/van-/ overcome, */vāns*, *vanh-/* (*van-*, *vaṁsat*); 3 sg. */vāns/*, */vanhat(i)/*, YH */vanhan/*.

6. Roots in -i(ṛ), -u (stem in -š)

/niṛ-/ lead, */naiš-/* (*nī-*, *anaiṣam*, *néṣat*); */naišat/*, a *sa*-subjunctive.

/sru-/ hear, */srauš-/* (*śru-*, *śroṣan*); */sraušanai/*. Isolated *sa*-subjunctive.

/θru-/ nourish, */θrauš-/* (-); 3 sg. inj. */θraušta/*.

/xšnu-/ satisfy, */xšnāuš-*, *xšnauš-/* (-); 3 sg. */xšnāuš/*, */xšnaušan*, *xšnaušāi/*.

Note */xšnaušamna-/*.

7. Roots in -aṛ (stem in -ās, -āz, -āh)

/raṛ-/ grant, */rās-/* (*rā-*, *rāsat*); */rāhahai/*.

/saṛ-/ cut down, */sās-/* (*chā-*, -); */sāzdvam/*.

/staṛ-/ stand, */stās-/* (*sthā-*, -); 3 sg. sub. */stāhat/*. Isolated *sa*-subjunctive.

/θraṛ-/ protect, */θrās-/* (*trā-*, *trāsva*); */θrāzdvam/*.

Inflection

All the forms found are given below.

The numbers of the different forms are (Vedic numbers in brackets):

	inj.	sub.	opt.	imp.
Active	9 (46)	14 (57)	0 (0)	2 (17)
Middle	10 (57)	8 (18)	0 (16)	4 (9)

The numbers agree remarkably with the Vedic ones. In the active there are more subjunctive than injunctive forms, which is due to the independent *sa-* subjunctives. There are slightly more middle than active injunctives, clearly more active than middle subjunctives. Gathic has no optatives at all, Sanskrit has only middle forms. It is possible that Gathic has the older situation. Imperatives are rare. The forms other than 2 sg. might be injunctives. In the 2 sg. active Sanskrit too has forms in *-si* (12; beside two in *-ā*).

s-aorist (all forms)

	Active	Middle
inj.		
1.		<i>fraši, manhi</i>
2.	<i>āiṣ? dāiṣ, sāns</i>	
3.	<i>āiṣ? dārṣt, xśnāuṣ</i> <i>sāns, vāns</i>	<i>baxšta, frašta, mansta, rausta,</i> <i>saršta, θraušta</i>
1.		<i>(a)mahmadi</i>
2.		<i>θvarždvam</i>
3.	<i>vrāxšat</i>	
sub.		
1.	<i>daiṣā, varṣā</i>	<i>haxšāi, manhāi, xśnauṣāi,</i> <i>varṣānai, srauṣānai?</i>
2.		<i>rāhahai</i>
3.	<i>naiṣat, stāhat, vraxšat,</i> <i>vanhat, baxšati, janhati-,</i> <i>vanhati, varṣati</i>	<i>marxšatai, varṣatai</i>
1.	<i>naṣāma</i>	
2.		
3.	<i>xśnauṣan, YH vanhan,</i> <i>varṣanti</i>	
opt.	—	—
imp.		
2.	<i>daiṣi</i>	<i>fraṣva</i>
2.	<i>sansta</i>	<i>sāzdvam, θrāzdvam, vaizdvam</i>

10. The perfect

We have perfect forms from 17 or 18 roots.

Reduplication

If the roots contains *i* or *u*, this is repeated, *cit*:- /*ci-kaitrš*/. But all roots (6) beginning with *v*- or *y*- have reduplication with *a*, /*vrāz*-/ : /*vavrāz*-/, /*van*-/ : /*vaun*-/, /*yat*-/ : /*yait*-/ < **ya-yt*-. No forms of the type Skt. *uvāca* occur.

Three or four forms have long *ā*. One or two of them follow *v*, so the length could be only graphic. The two others have Vedic parallels with *ā*.

Stems

The stems have full grade of the root in the singular indicative active and in the subjunctive, zero grade elsewhere. The full grade has long *ā* in 3 sg. /*nanās*-/ and /*hišāy*-/, which can be analogical from forms where Brugman's Law operated, but short in /*tataš*-/ which had a double consonant earlier, cf. Skt. *tatākṣa*. The 3 pl. /*cikaitrš*/ (*cikōitarāš*) has full grade instead of zero. It could be a static form, with root accent an full grade of the root in all forms. (Its *-ōi-* is also irregular, and its ending is unique in Avestan).

The stems are grouped according to their reduplication.

1. Reduplication with *-a-*

/*daʔ*-/ give, put, /*dadā*-/ (*d(h)ā*-, *dad(h)ātha*); /*dadāθa*/ YH.

/*nas*-/ disappear, /*nanās*-, *nans*-/ (*naš*-, *nanāša*); 3 sg. /*nanāsa*/, ptc. /*nansvāh*/.

/*par*-/ fill, /*pafr*-/ (*pṛ*-, *pupūryās*, *paṇvāms*); 3 sg. M. /*pafrail*/.

/*taš*-/ shape, /*tataš*-/ (*taks*-, *tatākṣa*); 3 sg. /*tataša*/.

/*vrāz*-/ be glad, /*vavrāz*/ (-); 2 pl. sub. /*vavrāzaθa*/.

/*vac*-/ say, /*vauk*-/ (*vāc*-, *vavāca*, *uvāca*); /*vauxma*/.

/*van*-/ overcome, /*vaun*-/ (*van*-, *vāvāna*); /*vaunar*/ YH.

/*yat*-/ line up, /*yait*-/ (*yat*-, *yetirē*); /*yaiθma*/.

2. Reduplication with *-ā-*

/*dar*-/ grasp, /*dādr*-/ (*dhr*-, *dādhāra*, *dadhre*); 3 sg. M /*dādrail*/.

/*kan*-/ desire, /*cāxn*-/ (*kan*-, *cākānat*); /*cāxnar*/.

/*van*-/ wish, /*vāun*-/ (-); ptc. /*vāunuš*/? Perhaps rather an adjective /*vanu*-/.

/*varz*-/ work, /*vāurz*-/ (-); 3 sg. M /*vāurzail*/, ptc. /*vāurzāna*-/.

3. Reduplication with *-i-*

/*cit*-/ think, /*cikait*-/ (*cit*-, *cikéta*); /*cikaitrš*/.

/*hi*-/ bind, /*hišāy*-/ (*si*-, *sišāya*); /*hišāya*/.

4. Roots with V-

/ad-/ say, /ād-/ from *Ha-Hd- (-); 1 sg /āda/ YH, /ādar/.

/ah-/ be, /āh-/ (as-, āsa); /āhar/.

/ar-/ rise, /ār-/ < *h3e-h3r- (īr-, -); 3 sg. M. /ārai/.

/āp-/ obtain, /āp-/ (from *Ha-HHp-) (āp-, āpitha); ptc. /āpāna-/ written ap-;

Skt. āpāná-.

5. Unreduplicated

/vid-/ know, /vaid-, vid-/ (vid-, véda); /vaida, vaista, vaida/, sub. /vaidā/ in 48.9a?

6. A pluperfect?

/rud-/keep off, /ruraust/ 51.12b is by some scholars considered as a pluperfect, rather than an inj. pres.

Perfect (all forms)

Active

ind.

1. *vaida*, YH *āda*
2. *vaista*, YH *dādāθa*
3. *vaida*, *tataša*, *nanāsa*, *hišāya*
1. *vaušma*, *yaiθma*
2. *vaidā*, *āhar*, *cāxnar*, YH *vaunar*
3. *cikaitrš*

sub.

1. *vaidā?*
2. *vavrāzaθa*
3. *vavrāzaθa*

opt.

3. *vidyāt*

Middle

ind.

- 3.sg. *dādrai*, *pafrai*, *ārai*, *vāvrzai*

11. Future

There are one or two future forms in Gathic:

/vaxšya-/ from /vac-/ (*vakšyāti*); 1 sg. /vaxšyā/ 30.1a, 44.6b, 45.1-6a, 46.15a, 51.8a.

/saušya-/ if future from /sū-/ save (Skt. *soṣyáti*); ptc. /saušyant-/. From *sauH-sia-, but note that Sanskrit has a (recent) form without *i* < *H*.

They are made with the suffix -sya- and full grade of the root, as in Sanskrit.

12. The passive

12.1 Passive presents

Passive presents are formed with -ya-. Only a few forms are found.

/barya-/ be carried, /bar-/ (*bhriyáte*); sub. /baryaṇantail/ 32.15c.

/sruya-/ be heard of, be famous, /sru-/ (*śrūyáte*); 1 sg. M /sruyai/ 33.7b.

/vašya-/ jump, /vanc-/ (*vañc-*); /vašyatai/ 44.11c.

/vazya-/ be carried = be married (-); /vazyamna-/ 53.5a.

One of these forms has full grade, whereas the Sanskrit forms have zero grade (*bhriyáte*, *ucyáte*). This is an innovation of Iranian. All forms have middle endings, as in Sanskrit, whereas in Late Avestan active endings are as frequent as middle ones. The limited material does not allow the conclusion that no active forms occurred.

12.2. The passive aorist

The passive aorist is formed exactly as in Sanskrit. There is only a 3 sg. form. It had -o- in the root in PIE, which gave -ā- if Brugmann's Law operated. Long vowel was sometimes introduced in roots ending in a single consonant. The ending was -i.

The following forms occur:

/caiši/ from /ciš-/ promise; 51.15c.

/mravi/, written *mraoi*, from /mruṇ-/ speak (or from /mruṇ-/ maltreat?);

32.14c. The form has short -a- because it ended in a laryngeal:

*mrauH-i.

/srāvi/ from /sru-/ hear; 32.7b.8a, 45.10b, 53.1a.

/vāci/ from /vac-/ say; (36-6), 43.13e.

13. Derived conjugations

13.1. Causatives

The stems are given with the thematic presents, §5b1. The inflection is that of the thematic presents.

13.2. Desideratives

Desideratives are made with the suffix -sa- after the reduplicated root. The reduplicating vowel is always -i-, also when the root contains -u- (/cixšnuša-/; LAv. has *susruša-*). The root has zero grade. (No root in -ā-

has a desiderative in Gathic.) Roots in *-r* have *-ar-*. This may have originated from *-rH-*, with *H* taken from the set roots. There is one root in a nasal, which has */vivanha-/ vīvāngha-*, which is mostly derived from **-vānsa-*. This would require the introduction of the nasal which is found in Sanskrit, e.g. *jigāmsa-* (as against Skt. *vīvāsa-* < **ui-ṽṇH-so-*), but this could be a Sanskrit innovation. It is noteworthy that this root does not have the nasal in Sanskrit (*vīvāsa-*). But *-āngha-* can represent **-ansa-*, and it seems possible that Avestan introduced the full grade which was also found — synchronically — in *-ar-*. There is a v.l. */vivahatu/ vīvaṇhatu* from **uiṽṇso-*.

The reduplicating vowel is written long in some forms, short in others. No system has been found.

/cixšnuša-/ satisfy (-); 1 sg. ind. */cixšnušā/* 49.1b, nom. sg.

/cixšnušah/ 32.8b, 43.15d, 45.9a.

/didarša-/ hold, anit root *dar-* (-); 3 sg. M inj. */didaršata/* 46.7b.

/didrža-/ hold fast, **didrgh-so-* (-); 2 sg. inj. */didržah/* 44.15d.

/didragža-/ consolidate, **di-drnggh-so-* (-); 2 pl. ind. */didragžadvai/* 48.7b. Or */didrgža-/*?

/dibža-/ deceive, **di-dbh-so-*, root *dabh-* (*dīpsati*); inf. */dibžadyāi/* 45.4e.

/hišsa-/ sit down, **si-sd-so-* (-); 3 sg. inj. */hišsat/* 32.13a.

/iša-/ go, root *i-*, **Hi-Hi-so-* (*išati*); 2 pl. */išaθa/* 45.1b, ptc. */išantah/* 30.1a, 47.6d.

YH */jijiša-/* win?, root *ji-* (?*jigīšanti/* 39.1.

/mimagža-/ present with, glorify, **mi-mnggh-so-* (-); nom. sg. */mimagžah/* 45.10a.

/vivarša-/ turn, root *var-* (-); nom. sg. */vivaršah/* 45.8a.

/vivānha-/ overcome, *van-* (*van(i)-*, *vīvāsati*); */vīvāhatu/* 53.5d.

/vī.dišəmna-/ has been explained as a desiderative of *dā-* 'give' without reduplication (**di-dH-sa-* would have given Av. **disa-*), **dH-sa-* > *diša-*; cf. LAv. *vīdišā-* 'liberality'.

All forms found are:

ind.	1.	<i>/cixšnušā/</i>	
	2. pl.	<i>/išaθa/</i>	<i>/didragžadvai/</i>
	3.	<i>/jijišanti/</i>	YH
inj.	2. sg.	<i>/didržah/</i>	
	3.	<i>/hišsat/</i>	<i>/didaršata/</i>
imp.	3. sg.	<i>/vīvānhatu/</i>	
inf.			<i>/dibžadyāi/</i>
ptc.		<i>/išantah/</i>	
adi.		<i>/mimagžah/</i>	
		<i>/cixšnušah/</i>	
		<i>/vivaršah/</i>	

Note that there is an adjective in *-a*, of which some nominatives are found. It is equivalent to the Sanskrit adjective in *-śú-*.

13.3 The intensives

1. The athematic type

There are only three forms. They are formed, like the Sanskrit primary intensives, with strong reduplication and are inflected athematically. Avestan has neither *-i-* after the reduplicating syllable, nor after the stem, as is often found in Sanskrit, cf. */zauzaumi/* as against *jóhavīti*. This *-i-* is a vocalized laryngeal, but in Avestan a laryngeal was not vocalized in this position.

/dis-/ show, */daidais-/* (*diś-*, *dédište*); */daidaišt/* 51.17a.

/vid-/ find, */vaivid-/* (*vid-*, *vévid-*); */vaividati/* or */atai/* 30.8b, 3 pl. ind. or 3 sg. sub.; 1 sg. M */vaividai/* 44.11d.

/zuṛ-/ call, */zauzau-/* (*hū-*, *jóhavīti*); */zauzaumi/* 43.10a.

Indirect evidence gives */nainaistar-/* YH 35.2, from the stem **nai-naid-* blame, revile.

2. The thematic type

There is only one form. It is formed, as in Sanskrit, with reduplication, zero grade of the root, and the suffix *-ya-*. It has active endings, whereas Sanskrit only has middle endings.

/rah-/ deflect, */raṛrśya-/* (-); */raṛrśyantil/*, sub. */raṛrśyaṛan/*. (There is a noun from this root with (intensive) reduplication, */raṛrśā-/*.)

14. Denominatives

In the Gathas proper three to five denominatives are found, in the YH two or three more. This is a remarkably low figure. The Rigveda has more than a hundred of them, but is about twenty times as large. They are formed with *-ya-*. The suffix was accented, as in Sanskrit, as appears from the writing *-xya-* (see III 1). One of the three forms, however, has *-hya-*, and was therefore perhaps not accented on *-ya-*.

/fšuya-/ from */pasu-/*, graze; 2 sg. inj. */fšuyah/* 48.5d; */fšuyant-/* farmer.

YH */išudya-/* from */išud-/*, Labung darbringen; */išudyāmahi/* 36.5, 38.4, 39.4.

YH */namahyá-/* from */namah-/*, adore; */namahyāmahi/* 36.5, 38.4, 39.4.

/yasahyá-/ attain glory, cf. Skt. *yáśas-*; */yasahyán/* 51.4b.

/sravahya-/ attain glory, from */sravah-/* (*śravasyāti*); */sravahyati/* 32.6a.

Doubtful are

YH */maikaya-/*? from */*maika-/*, drip?; */maikayant-/* 38.3. Mss. also have */máikant-/*.

vādāyōit 29.2c, which is uncertain.

/varzayantah/ 45.4c, cf. Skt. *ūrjáyant-*; others take it as a causative.

15. Non-finite verb forms

15.1 Participles

15.1a Present, aorist and future participles

Active The active participle in *-ant* shows ablaut in the athematic verbs, but not in the thematic verbs. Here Avestan differs from Sanskrit, where both types have ablaut. (The thematic locative plural has */-asu/* as in the athematic inflection, perhaps to avoid **-ansu* < **-ant-su* (though */-ans*, *-an/* and in Late Avestan *-anbyo* are tolerated).

Athematic forms have zero grade of the root or stem (*/sr̥vant-/*).

Reduplicated and static forms have invariable *-at-* < **-nt-*.

The feminine has */-antī-/* in the thematic, */-atī-/* in the athematic verbs.

We find:

them. <i>/ham bavantīš/</i>	acc. pl. YH	ath. <i>/hatīm/</i>
<i>/maika(ya)ntīš/</i>	„ „	<i>/šyatībyah/</i>

Forms in *-yant* are very frequent.

There are only two aorist forms (or even one: */dant-/* and */vi dant-/*).

A future is */saušyant-/* 'saviour'.

Middle. For the middle the thematic form is *-amna-* < **-omh₁no-*. There is only one form in *-āna-* in the Gathas proper. Given the proportion active: middle in the thematic verbs, one might expect $15/24 \times 7 = 4,3$ athematic middle forms. This leads to the idea that *-āna-* was replaced by *-amna-* in Gathic. There are a few forms that suggest this: */xš̥naušamna-/* beside an s-aorist (it is probably derived from the *sa-* subjunctive); */frinamna-/* stands beside athematic subj. */frināi/*, but there are thematic forms in Late Avestan; */agžanvamna-/* has been compared with Skt. *kṣaṇutē*, but — if the connection is correct — it could be from thematic */gžanva-/*; */isamna-/* 46.6a is taken from the root 'be able', but it has also been explained from 'desire'. There is, then, no certain evidence. The numbers are small, and *-āna-* might be absent accidentally. There is a perfect */āpāna-/*, and in the YH */vāvrzāna-/*. This confirms that *-āna-* existed in Gathic too. Late Avestan does have *-āna-*.

The corresponding Sanskrit forms are

Av. <i>-amna-</i>	Skt. <i>amāna-</i>
<i>-āna-</i>	<i>-āna-</i>

Sanskrit probably made *-amāna-* by introducing the sequence *-āna-*. The interpretation of these forms has recently been found: the form that resulted in Av. *-amna-* after vowel, but in *-āna-* after consonant, is **-mHna-*. This form also accounts for Gr. *-o-menos* < **-o-mh₁nos*. (**-mHna-* resulted in Stk. **-mina-*, which is preserved in Prakrit.)

Middle forms are much less frequent than active forms, athematic forms much less frequent than the thematic ones. We find:

	active		middle		total
	pres.	aor.	pres.	aor.	
them.	25	0	15	0	40
ath.	7	2	0	0	9
total	34		15		49

Active presents: thematic

1. Presents in -a-

/buḍ-/ be: YH /ham bavantiš/ acc. pl. fem.

/bud-/ be aware: /baudantah/ nom. pl.

/fras-/ ask: /prsans/ nom. sg.

/iš-/ arrive: /išantah/ voc. pl. 30.1a, acc. pl. 47.6d.

/iš-/ urge: /išanti/ loc. sg. m. 46.9e. (Or 3 pl.)

/mar-/have in mind: /marantah/ nom. pl. m.

/mruc-/ sink: /mraucans/.

/nad-/ abuse: /nadantah/ acc. pl. m. 33.4c.

/rap-/ support: ntr. /raḅan/, /rapantail/, acc. pl. /rapantah/.

2. Presents in -(a)ya-

/druj-/ deceive: gen. /adrujyantah/.

/uxš-/ grow: gen. du. /rtaḍuxšayantāh/ 33.9a.

/dviš-/ be at enmity: /dvišyantail/.

/fšuya-/breed cattle: /fšuyantam, -antai, -asul/, nom. pl. /afšuyantah/.

/iš-/ prosper: /išayans/.

/maikaya-/? drip?, /maikayantīs/? YH 38.3.

/nas-/ disappear: nom. pl. /nasyantah/.

/piš-/ ? : /pišyasul/.

/xšā-/ rule: /xšayans/, nom. pl. /-antah/.

/yasahyá-/ attain glory: ntr. /yasahyán/.

/zuḍ-/ call: /zuḍayantail/.

3. Presents with -sa-

/ižd-/ implore: /išsans/.

/yā-/ ask for: /yāsans/.

4. Presents with -va-

/jī-/ live: /jīvans/, acc. pl. /jīvantah/.

/raiθ-/ pervade?: ntr. /raiθvan/.

*Active presents: athematic*1. With *-ant-/-at-**/ah-/* be: */hans, hataḥam/*; fem. */hatīm/*.*/ci-/* separate: gen. sg. */cinvatah/*.*/dav-/* ? : */davans/* 31.10c. Perhaps for */duvans/*. May be thematic.*/i-/* go: */yantam/*.*/sru-/* hear, stem */srnu-/*: acc. pl. */srnḡvatas-/* YH.*/ši-/* dwell: */šyans/*, dat. pl. f. */šyatībyah/*.2. With *-at-* only*/vispā-hišas/* nom. sg. m. of a reduplicated present (root unknown), e.g.**si-sH-ṇt-s*.*/stu-/* praise: */stavas/* nom. sg. m. from static **steu-ṇt-s*.*Active aorist: athematic**/daḥ-/* give, put: nom. pl. */dantah/* < **dH-ant-*, */vi dans/*.*Active aorist: thematic**/han-/* win: */hanantai/*.*/vid-/* satisfy: */vidans/*.*Future**/saušyant-/* 'saviour', if fut. ptc. of */suḥ-/*: */-ans/*, gen. */-antah/*, nom. pl.*/-antah/*, gen. pl. */-antaḥam/*.*Middle presents: thematic*1. Presents in *-a-**/fras-/* ask: */ḡrsamna-/*.*/frīl/* please: */frīnamna-/*.*/hac-/* follow: */hacamna-/*.*/iṣ-/* desire, stem */isa-/*: */isamna-/*.*/sar-/* unite: */saramna-/*.*/vad-/* carry: */vadamna-/*.*/vid-/* find: */vaidamna-/*.*/hvar-/* eat: */hvaramna-/*.*/yaz-/* adore: */yazamna-/*.2. Presents in *-(a)ya-**/syazd-/* retreat: */siḡḡdyamna-/*.*/vaz-/* carry: */vazyamna-/*.*/vrz-/* work: */vrzyamna-/*.*/xšā-/* rule: */xšayamna-/*.

3. Presents with *-sa-*

/vi dišamna-/ 51.1b. Desiderative? See 13.2

4. Presents in *-va-*

/agžanvamna-/ 28.3b.

Middle aorists: s-aorist

/xšnu-/ satisfy: */xšnaušamna-/*; the form is derived from a *sa*-subjunctive, 'who wants to satisfy'.

15.1b Perfect participles

There are only two active forms and two middle participles. The active forms have the suffix *-vas-/ -us-*. On the middle form see above.

Active

/vid-/ know: */vidvāh, viduśah, -ušai/*. On */viduš/* see VI 23.

/nas-/ disappear: */nansvāh/*.

/vaunuš/ is rather an adjective */vanu-/*.

Middle

/āp-/ obtain: */āpāna-/*, written *ap-*.

/varz-/ work: */vāvrzāna-/* YH.

15.2 The verbal adjective

The verbal adjective in *-ta-* is well represented with over twenty different forms. The root has zero grade, except */dā-/* (cf. 91.1), */taš-/* and **/yap-/*.

The adjective with *-na-* has only two examples.

1. With *-ta-*

/ašta-/ 51.12b (*nas-* reach).

/dāta, nidāta-/ (*dā-*).

/dṛšta-/ in */dṛštaṛainah-/*, */abidršta-/* (*drs-* see).

/gušta-, a-/ (*guš-* hear).

/išta-, fra-, zastā-/ (*iš-* urge).

/išta-/ YH 40.4 (*iš-* desire).

/krta-, han-, hu-/ (*kar-* make).

/musta-, a-ham-/? Uncertain.

/rixta-/ subst. remainder (*ric-* leave).

/sruta-, fra-/ (*sru-* hear).

/tašta-/ (*taš-* shape).

/ušta-/ (*vas-* wish).

/-uxta-, *fra-*, *hu-*/ YH (*vac-* say).

/-vrtā-, *ā-*/ (*var-* turn?).

/-vršta-, *duž-*, *hu-*/ (*vrz-* work).

/vīsta-, *manavīsta-*/ (*vid-* find).

/višta-/ in /Vištaṇaspa-/. On this form see IV 52.2.

• /xšusta-/ 'molten, liquid'.

/-yapta-, *ā-*/? 'possession'.

/yuxta-/ (*yuj-* join).

/-zāta-, *kudā-*/ YH (*xšnā-* be born).

2. With *-na-*

/prna-/ (*prā-* fill). The root form without laryngeal is analogical.

/ustāna-/ (*tan-* stretch out). From **tnH-na-*.

15.3 The gerundives

A few forms in *-i(ṇ)a* are gerundives.

/aujyaišu/ loc. pl. 46.12b 'praiseworthy'.

/iṣiṇā/ 48.8c 'which is to be sent'. Differently interpreted. The forms /iṣiṇanh/ acc. pl. 32.16c and /iṣiṇām/ acc. sg. f. 51.17b may or may not be the same word.

/vaidiṇā/ 44.8d if 'which are to be acquired', from *vid-* 'find, acquire'.

Variant *vaēdyāi*.

/variṇam/ 34.14a, 51.1a, /variṇāh/ 43.13e gen. sg. f. 'to be chosen'.

/zahiṇā/ 53.8b if 'risible' from *zah-*, Ved. *has-*. Uncertain.

/zaviṇam/ 31.4a 'to be called'.

All forms but one have *-ia-*, which cannot be due to Sievers' law and thus point to *-iHa-*. In the Rigveda the gerundives mostly have disyllabic *-ia-*. For /aujya-/ a form with *-iṇa-* seems excluded by the metre. Perhaps the word does not belong here.

15.4. The infinitive

The infinitives of the older Indo-European languages are in origin isolated case forms of verbal nouns. It is therefore not always easy to decide whether a form must be called an infinitive rather than a verbal noun (nor is the distinction very important). Two criteria seem adequate: 1. the ending, or the form as a whole, cannot be explained as a normal case form of a noun; and 2. the ending has been added to a verbal stem (not to a root).

In Avestan many forms have been called infinitives which can be better explained otherwise. Still there are several Gathic forms which are called infinitives by some scholars, whereas others explain them differently.

In Late Avestan there are only very few traces of infinitives (especially when *-tāē/-tayaē-ca* is not considered as an infinitive).

The Gathic forms found are (Vedic equivalents in brackets):

/-dyāi/	17	(-dhyai)	/-manai/?	1?	(-mane)
/-ah/	2	(-as?)	/-vai/	2	-
/-ai/?	1?	(-e)	/-vanai/	2	(-vane)
/-tai/	4	-			
/-hai, -sai/	6	(-se)			

The agreement with Vedic is not complete. The Vedic forms *-tum*, *-toḥ*, *-tave* are recent, so their absence presents no problem. There are also no equivalents of Ved. *-am*, *-aye*, *-ane*, and *-sani*, which are rather rare in Vedic too.

As PII **-dhyāi* is of PIE origin (cf. below), we can be sure that already in PIE a large number of case forms of verbal nouns were used with infinitival function. The process of rising and vanishing of such forms continued down to the separate languages.

/-dyāi/

17 infinitives have /-dyāi/. These are:

/ṛar-/ rise: /uz-(ṛ)iṛdyāi/ pres. (with red.) 43.12c, 14d. Late Avestan has mostly active forms from *ar* + *us*.

/būš-/ endeavour: /būždyāi/ 44.17d. The form can be a root present or a root aorist (but Vedic has no aorist). Ved. *bhūṣati* has only active forms, but the meaning can be middle.

/ci-/ distinguish: /cidyāi/ 31.5a, 49.6c. GAv. has a root aorist, with one active and one middle form. Middle interpretation well possible.

/dab-/ deceive: /dibžadyāi/ desid. 45.4e. Active (passive translation possible).

/dar-/ hold: /drdyāi/ 43.1d. *dar-* has a root aorist middle (and an *s*-aor. act).

/daṛ-/: /dādyāi/ 31.5b, 44.8b, 51.20a can be from the root aorist. As there is a specific present infinitive, interpretation as aorist is necessary. The first two instances have *māng*, with which finite forms are always middle. The third can be passive or middle. The form is only once written with long *-ā-* (44.8b), and in that place a disyllabic reading would be very welcome, but morphologically only /dādyāi/ is possible.

/daṛ-/: /dazdyāi/ 35.4, 44.1d pres. < **da-dH-*. Passive or middle.

/jan-/ slay: /jadyāi/ 32.14c can be a present. (Vedic has no aorist.) Passive.

/marc-/ destroy: /mrngdyāi/ pres. 46.11b. Act. or middle?

/marz-/ destroy: /mrnždyāi/ pres. 44.14c. Act. or middle?

/ʼnas-/ attain: /aždyāi/ 51;17c. There is a root aorist *ans-/as-*. Probably middle.

/sanh-/ announce: /sazdyāi/ 30.2c, 51.16c. There is a root aorist *sas-*. Probably middle.

/sru-/ hear: /srudyāi/ 34.12b, 45.5b, 46.13b,14b. There is a root aorist. Middle, 'to be heard'.

/suṛ-/ strengthen: /sūdyāi/ 44.2c, 49.3b. Avestan has no aorist. Probably passive.

/θraṛ-/ protect: /θrāyadyāi/ pres. 34.5b. All forms of *θraṛ-* are middle.

/vid-/ know/find: /vaizdyāi/ 43.13c. This form is taken from *vid-* 'know', but this would be **vizdyāi* (cf. /vidvai, vidvanai/), as all other roots have zero grade before /-dyāi/. It belongs clearly with 2 pl. /vaizdvam/, which must be an *s*-aorist of *vid-* 'find'. A root aorist would also give **vizdyāi*, so it must be an *s*-aorist, (which has full grade in the middle forms). All forms of *vais-* and /vaida-/ (from *vid-* 'find') are middle (as well as /vaivid-/ , if we read /vaividatai/ in 30.8b).

/varz-/ work: /vrzyadyāi/ pres. 33.6b, 43.11e. Act. or middle?

We found the following situation:

present	act./med.	root	root pres./aor. ¹	act./med.
/uz-(?)iṛdyāi/	act.?	/būždyāi/	?	act.?
/dazdyāi/	med.	/cidyāi/	aor.	med?
/jadyāi/	med.	/drdyāi/	aor.	med.
/mrngdyāi/	?	/dādyāi/	aor.	med.?
/mrnždyāi/	?	/jadyāi/	pres.	med.
/θrāyadyāi/	med.	/aždyāi/	aor.	med.?
/vrzyadyāi/	?	/sazdyāi/	aor.	med.?
desid.		/srudyāi/	aor.	med.
/dibžadyāi/	act.	/sūdyāi/	?	med.
<i>s</i> -aor.				
/vaizdyāi/	med.			

There are seven forms from present stems and a desiderative (which is a present too). Of the nine root forms all but three have root aorists. One (/jadyāi/) is a root present. The two others cannot be ascertained (/būždyāi/ is probably a present). Certain is one *s*-aorist.

It is often difficult to decide between active and middle. For some forms there are reasons to consider them as active. It has been maintained that all forms were middle, as in Sanskrit (but for Sanskrit this has been doubted). An argument has been seen in the morphology: not only the roots, but also the presents have the ablaut form (zero grade) of the

¹ Root present/aorist known in Gathic.

(Note that /jadyāi/ is listed twice.)

middle inflection. But this is perhaps not decisive. Confirmation has been found in the Umbrian forms in *-fi*, which are (present and) medio-passive.

Late Avestan has only a few forms. Vedic has *-dhyai* in 35 forms only in the older parts of the Rigveda. But it is only thematic, which must be a later development, and it is not certain that it is always middle.

The connection with Umbrian *-fi* decides on the original form: it must continue PIE **-dhiōi*. This can only be the dative of a noun in **-dhio-* (which was already obsolete at the end of PIE).

/-ah/

An infinitive in */-ah/* is probable for:

/vrzyah/ 30.5a, from a present stem.

/avah/ 32.14b form */av-*, *uṛ-* help, pres. */ava-/*, though the context is hard to understand (there is another */avah/* in 14c, which will be a corruption).

For other forms an infinitive is less probable: */dārayah*, *fšuyah*, *savayah*, *uxšyah/* in 32.1c, 48.5d, 51.9c, 31.7c resp. can be 2 sg. inj. pres.; *azē* in 43.14d is monosyllabic, so it cannot be **/azah/*; probably it is */az/* 'I', 1 sg. pers. pron. */xšayah/* 32.5c may be a nom. sg. m. 'ruler'; *xš(a)yō* 31.20a may be */xšīṇah/*, gen. sg. of */xšīṇ-* complaint; */vidah/* 51.18b is a them. aor.

It is not certain that this form is identical with Skt. *-as*, which is a (gen.-)ablative formed from root nouns.

/-ai/

/pai/ 44.15b, 16b from */paṛ-* protect, **pH-ai*. The form could also be considered as a root noun, though then mostly the full grade was generalized.

Other forms are doubtful: */ārai/* (*āroī*) 50.5a is rather a perfect. */arai/* (**airē*) 28.4a (**māng* **airē* for *mān gairē*) is not explained with certainty. *mraoī* will be */mravi/*, pass. aor. */namai/* 46.1a is quite unexplained. */savai/* 43.12e is rather the loc. sg. of *sava-*. *suyē* (*/suṇai/?*) 49.9a is by some taken as an infinitive. */sruyai/* 33.7b is rather from passive */sruya-/* hear. */stai/* is not from **stH-ai* but from *ah-* be (see under */-tai/*).

/-ai/ is identical with Skt. *-e*, in origin the dative ending of root nouns.

/-tai/

/gatai/ 43.1c, 51.10c from *gam-* go.

/mrūtai/ 49.6a from *mruṇ-* speak.

/sastai/ 30.8c, 46.12e from *sanh-* announce.

/stai/ 31.8a, 33.10a etc. from */ah-/* to be.

The forms */itai/* and */pati-(?)rtai/* can better be taken as nouns. */šyavatai/* 29.3b would have the ending after the present stem, so probably does not belong here.

This form may be the dative of a root noun enlarged with *-t-* in origin. It is not found in Sanskrit.

/-hai, -sai/.

/frādahai/ 44.20e from */frāda-/* increase.

/rāšayahai/ 49x3b, 51.9c causative of */raš-/* injure.

/srāvayahai/ 29.8c causative of */sru-/* hear.

/vaucahai/ 28.11b from the them. aor. */vauca-/* say.

/vainahai/ 32.10a from pres. */vaina-/* see.

/našai-/ 44.14e from */nas-/* attain. The form may contain the root or the stem of the *s*-aorist. (Its first *a* is written long.)

Identical with Skt. *-āse*, which is used from thematic stems (*jīvase*, *pušyāse*) and with roots (*tujāse*). There are only two forms with *-se* (*jīšé*, *stušé*).

/-manai/

/xšanmanai/ 29.9a from */xšan-/* listen. Reading and interpretation are uncertain. */-manai/* would agree with Skt. *-mane* (not with Gr. *-menai*).

/-vai/

/dāvai/ 28.2b, 44.14d, 51.9b from */daʔ-/*.

/vidvai/ 43.9c, 44.8d from */vid-/* know and/or find.

/-vanai/

/vidvanai/ 31.1b from */vid-/* know.

/rvanai/? from */ar-/*. One expects this form to be written **aravanōi/-ē*, but we have *urvānē*.

Identical with Skt. *-vane* (only *dāvāne*, *turvāne* and *?dhūrvane*).

Other forms sometimes taken as infinitives

/-ām/ in */ucām/* 48.9c and */vi-daʔām/* 32.6c. These are in fact imperatives of a middle aorist.

/uzūthyai/ 46.5e 'to help'. The form can be the dative of a hysterodynamic noun in *-ti-*, **-tyai*.

/haiθai/ 32.14a from *hi-* 'bind', can also be the loc. sg. of an *a*-stem.

/ūθāi/ 46.3d 'to help' has also been interpreted as dative from */ūθa-/* (not connected with *av-*).

/raiθvan/ 31.7a has been taken as infinitive, but also as a participle (neuter sg.).

/avapastaiš/ 44.4c and */fraṛrtaiš/* 46.4b can as well be taken as nouns.
/uzmahī/ 46.9b has been considered as a locative infinitive of an *s*-stem.
 The form (*uzāmōhī*) is very uncertain.
/varcahi/ 32.14b idem. The form (*varēcā.hīcā*) is very uncertain.
/apayati/ 32.11b 'by stealing' (*apa yam-*) is rather a verbal noun.
/apivati/ 44. 18d (from *vat-* inspire') is rather 1 sg. middle.
/ā vivaršah, cixšnušah, mimagžah/ 45.8a,9a,10a, which clearly mean 'I shall/will...', are adjectives, not infinitives.
/daiši/ 33.13a is an imperative in *-si*.

16. Verb forms of uncertain interpretation

byentē 34.8a. From **bhiH-* be afraid? If it stands for */bayantai/*, the first half line of a verse of 7-9 syllables would have 8 syllables, which is very improbable. Athematic **bhiH-antai* would give the same problem. Perhaps **bhHī-antai*?

daintī 32.15b. Probably from **dH-anti*, but meaning and root are uncertain.

hēcā 46.1c. The metre requires three syllables. If it is subjunctive, it was */hacaṛā/*, from the present *haca-* (which presents active forms in LAv.); a root aorist would give */hacā/*. An ind. pf. */hahaca/* has also been proposed.

minas 46.14d. Totally unclear.

17. The verbal system compared with Sanskrit

17.1. Introduction

In the following pages the Gathic verbal system will be compared with that of the Rigveda. This is important, because Gathic has the same system as Vedic, whereas in Late Avestan the aorist is moribund, which affects, of course, the whole system.

Of course our knowledge of Gathic is very limited. Therefore what is absent from Gathic may be just unknown to us, whereas what is absent from the Rigveda may be considered to be significant, i.e. not to have existed in the language.

We compare the verbal system, that is what type of present, what type of aorist and whether or not there is a perfect. As to the perfect, we have only a few perfects in Gathic, which may be due to the character of the texts, Sanskrit mostly has a perfect, which is probably a secondary development. Therefore, if a perfect is absent from Sanskrit, this is probably significant.

From each category normally only one form is given, the one that is clearest. Sanskrit reduplicated aorists are not given, as the category as a whole is a Sanskrit innovation. The forms are arranged as follows:

Present	Aorist	Perfect
1, 2 etc. the present classes	R = root aor.	
<i>sk</i> = (PIE) <i>sk</i> -pres.	<i>a</i> = <i>a</i> -aor.	
<i>sa</i> = <i>sa</i> -pres.	<i>s</i> = <i>s</i> -aor.	
<i>aya</i> = <i>aya</i> -pres.	<i>red.</i> = redupl. aor.	
<i>ya</i> = pres. with <i>yá</i>		
<i>va</i> = <i>va</i> -pres.		
6 <i>n</i> = 6 class from <i>n</i> -pres.		
6 <i>r</i> = 6 class from red. pres.		

(Further AV = Atharva Veda, B = Brahmana; M = Middle).

A lemma is introduced by the Avestan root with its meaning and followed by the Sanskrit root with its meaning if there is an etymologically identical root.

+ before the Avestan root means that there is an exactly corresponding root in Sanskrit;

— means that there is no corresponding root in Sanskrit;

(=) behind the roots with their meanings means that all Gathic formations have exact parallels in the Rigveda;

(±) means that there is partial agreement in the formations;

(—) that there is no or very little agreement;

(?) means that comparison is not well possible.

After that follows a short survey of agreement or disagreement between the two languages. There are three indications, for present, aorist and perfect, respectively.

1 etc. = 1st pres. class, as above;

R etc. = root aor., as above;

Gathic categories are given first, the Vedic ones after a colon.

— means that neither of the two languages has forms of that category.

For example 2 : 2,4; R,s : R; —
means that:

both languages have a 2nd class present, but that Sanskrit (only) also has a 4th class present;

both have a root aorist, but Gathic (only) also an *s*-aorist;

neither has a perfect.

The denominatives are not included, nor is */vaina-/*.

17.2. Results

We find the following numbers:

159 verbal roots in Gatha-Avestan;

36 roots have no corresponding root in Sanskrit;
 7 roots have a doubtful correspondence in Sanskrit;
 116 roots remain that have a corresponding form in Sanskrit;
 9 of these roots have no present, aorist or perfect (only causative or desiderative forms) or cannot be used for comparison for other reasons;
 107 roots remain that have either a present or an aorist or a perfect and can be compared with Sanskrit;
 13 of these roots have no exactly corresponding formation in Sanskrit;
 16 roots (of the 107) have an exactly corresponding form in Sanskrit for some of their stems but not for all;
 78 roots remain that have an exactly corresponding formation in Sanskrit for all their stems (often only one stem is known in Gathic).

The 36 roots that have no exact counterpart in Sanskrit are:

<i>az</i> draw near	<i>rah</i> alienate
<i>ban</i> poison	<i>rap</i> support
<i>ciš</i> promise	<i>raš</i> damage
<i>ciθ</i> teach/erkennen	<i>rāθ</i> cling to
<i>danh</i> know, learn	<i>riθ</i> pervade?
<i>dav</i> swear	<i>sar</i> unite
<i>daxš</i> reveal	<i>syazd</i> retreat
<i>dbanz</i> support	<i>θvarš</i> shape
<i>dī</i> see?	<i>θvi</i> frighten
<i>dyu/dīv</i> endeavour	<i>θru</i> nourish
<i>drang</i> consolidate	<i>vaf</i> eulogize
<i>dvar</i> hurry	<i>van</i> wish
<i>frād</i> increase	<i>vap</i> scatter
<i>hvar</i> eat	² <i>var</i> turn
<i>marz</i> destroy	³ <i>var</i> lock in?
<i>nad</i> abuse	<i>varz</i> work
<i>narp</i> wane	<i>vrāz</i> be glad
<i>piš</i> see?	<i>xšnu</i> satisfy

The 7 roots of which a Sanskrit equivalent is doubtful are:

<i>darz</i> fasten	: <i>dṛh</i> make firm
<i>hap</i> hold	: <i>sap</i> serve
<i>ižd</i> implore	: <i>īd</i> praise
<i>mang</i> present with, glorify	: <i>mamh</i> give, bestow
<i>rup</i> cause pain	: <i>rup</i> break
<i>sac</i> learn	: <i>śak</i> be able
<i>sā</i> cut down	: <i>chā</i> cut off

The 9 roots of which we have no present, aorist or perfect in our texts or which cannot be used for other reasons are:

<i>būš</i>	<i>ji</i>
<i>dab</i>	<i>suc</i>
<i>had</i>	<i>vanc</i>

and:

bī (interpretation of *byentē* uncertain);

dis (Skt. *s*-aorist probably not old: *ádikṣi*);

vraj (are */vrāxšat/* and *avrājūt* B old *s*-aorists of a set root?).

The 13 roots of which no formation has an exact correspondence in Sanskrit are:

² <i>ah</i>	<i>mard</i>	² <i>rud</i> hold back
<i>āz</i>	<i>miθ</i>	<i>vižd</i>
<i>guš</i>	<i>par</i> cross	<i>xrud</i>
¹ <i>hū</i> increase	¹ <i>rud</i> lament	<i>xsā</i>
<i>marc</i>		

The 16 roots that have an exactly corresponding formation in Sanskrit for some formations but not for all are:

<i>baj</i>	<i>spas</i>	<i>xrap</i>
<i>dar</i>	<i>stā</i>	<i>xšā</i>
<i>garz</i>	<i>sū</i>	<i>yā</i>
<i>hac</i>	<i>vat</i>	<i>zā</i>
¹ <i>nas</i> attain	<i>vaxš</i>	
² <i>nas</i> disappear	² <i>vid</i> find	

The 78 roots that agree in all stems with Sanskrit can be found in the following list (indicated with + and (=)). These systems may be assumed to be of PIE date. They should be completed with data from Late Avestan, though this is dangerous as the material is much younger.

17.3. List of roots

The roots are given in phonemic transcription in the order of the Latin alphabet.

PRESENT	AORIST	PERFECT
+ <i>ad</i> say : <i>ah</i> say (=)	- -; - -; pf = pf	<i>/ādar/</i> <i>āha</i>
+ <i>ah</i> be : <i>as-</i> be (=)	2 = 2; - -; pf = pf	<i>/āhar/</i> <i>āsa</i>
2 <i>/ahmi, hanti/</i>		
2 <i>ásmi, sánti</i>		
+ ² <i>ah</i> throw : <i>as</i> throw (-)	- : 4; R : -; - : pf	
	R <i>/as/</i>	

- 4 *ásyati* *ása*
 + **ar** rise : *īr*, *ṛ* set in motion (=) 3,6r = 3,6r; R = R,a; pf = pf
 3 /uz-ṛiṛ-dyāi/ inf R /aṛaram, arantai/ sub. /ārai/
 6r /īra-tu/
- 3 *íyarti, írte* *āra*
 6r *aírat* *ārat, árantā*
 + **ard** flourish : *ṛdh* thrive (=) -: 4,5,7; R = R; -:pf
 R /ardat/ sub
- 4 *ṛdhyati* *āṛdhyā* opt. *āṛdhe*
 5 *ṛdhnóti*
 7 *ṛnádhat* sub
- + **arj** be worth : *arh* deserve (=) 1 = 1; - -; - -
 1 /arjati/
 1 *árha-ti*
- + **aug** say : *ūh* consider (=) 2M = 2M; -:iṣ; -:pf
 2 /auj-ai, aug-madai-/
 2 *óhate* *iṣ áuhiṣṭa* *ūhé*
- + **av** comfort : *av* favour (=) 1 = 1; -: R, iṣ; -:pf
 1 /avā-mi/
 1 *áva-ti* *R avyās* *áva*
iṣ āvīt
- az?** draw near:
 1? /azāṭha/ ind? (see *zā*)
- + **āp** obtain : *āp* obtain (=) - : 5; a = a; pf = pf
a /āpaima/ */āpāna-/*
 5 *āpnóti* *a āpat* *āpa*
- + **āz** be eager : **āh* desire (-) 4 : 6r; - -; - -
 4 /īzyā/ ind.
 6r (*íhate* B)
- + **baj** distribute : *bhaj* divide (±) 1sa : 1,2; s = s; -:pf
 1sa /baxša-hva/ imp. *s /baxšta/*
 1 *bhájati* *s ábhāk, ábhakṣi* *babhāja*
 2 *bhákṣi*
- ban** poison:
 CS /bānayan/
- + **bar** bring : *bhr̥* bring (=) 1,(2?) = 1(2,3); - : s; - : pf
 1 /bara-ti/
 2 /bar-tu/?
 1 *bhára-ti* *s ábhārṣam* *jabhāra*
 2 *bharti*
 3 *bíbhar-ti*
 + **bī?** be afraid : *bhī* fear (?)

byente = ?

3 *bibhēti*

R *bhema*

bibhāya

1 *bhāya-te*

(s *ābhaiṣma*)

+ *bū* be : *bhū* be (=)

1 = 1; R = R; - : pf

1 /*bavantiś*/ ptc.

R /*buvat(i)*/ sub

1 *bhāvati*

R *ābhūt*

babhūva

+ *bud* be aware : *budh* is awake (=)

1 = 1, 4; - : R, a, s; - : pf

1 /*bauda-nt-*/

1 *bódha-ti*

R *ābudhran*

bubudhé

4 *búdhya-te*

a *budhánta*

s *ābhutsi*

+ *būṣ* bring about : *bhūṣ* is busy, cares (?)

No finite forms. /*būṣdyai*/ inf

(6) *bhūṣati*

+ *cī* distinguish : *cī* gather (=)

5 = 5; R = R - : -pf

5 /*cinaut*/

R /*śyata*/ 3p

5 *cinóti*

R *acet*

cikāya

—*ciś* promise:

7 /*cinas*/

R /*caiśam, caiśta*/

+ *cit* think : *cit* perceive (=)

- : 1, 2; - : R, s; pf = pf

1 *céta-ti*

R *cītāna-*

/*cikaitrś*/

2 *cité* 3s

s *ácait*

cikéta

—*ciθ* teach/erkennen :

R /*(a)cista*/, /*caiθat*/ sub

+ *dab* deceive : *dabh* deceive, harm (?)

cs = cs, 1; - : R; - : pf

CS /*dābayati*/

1 *dábha-ti*

R *dabhúr*

dadābha

CS *dambháyati*

—*danh* know, learn :

3 /*didahai*/ 1s

+ *dar* hold : *dhr̥* hold (±)

cs = cs; R, s = R; pf = pf

CS /*dārayati*/

R /*dr̥ta*/

/*dadrai*/

s /*dārśt*/?

CS *dhāráyati*

(R *dhr̥-thās* AV)

dādhāra, dadhré

+ *dars* see : *drś* see (=)

- -; R = R (a, s) - : pf

R /*(a)darsam*/

R *ádṛśran*

dadārśa

(a *dṛśan*)

s *ádṛkṣata*

? *darz* fasten : ? *dṛh* make firm (?)

DES /*didr̥žahl*/

Comparison impossible

— **dav** swear:

1 /dava-nt-/

— **daxš** please, teach, reveal :

1 /daxšat/

CS /daxšaya/ imp

+ **dā** give, put : *dā* give, *dhā* put (=) 3 = 3; R = R(a); - : pf

3 /dadāti/ R /dāt/

3 *dádāti* R *ádāt* *dadau*

3 *dádhāmi* R *ádhāt* *dadháu*

a dhat

+ **dā**² distribute : *dā* divide (=) *ya* = *ya*, *aya*, 2; - : s; - -

ya /dyaṇāi/ sub

2 *dāti* *s diṣṭyá* opt.

ya dyāti

aya dáyate

+ **dā**³ bind : *dā* bind (=) *ya* = *ya*; - -; - -

ya /dyatām/ imp.

ya dyāti

— **dbanz** support :

1 /dbanzati/

+ **dbu** befool : *dbhu* harm (=) 5 = 5; - -; - -

5 /dbnautal/

CS /dbāvayat/

5 *dabhnuvanti*

+ **dbiš** be at enmity with : *dviš* hate (=) 2,4 : 2; - -; - -

2 /dbišanti/

4 /dbišyant-/

2 *dvéṣti*

— **dī** see? :

3 /dadyat/

/dāyatai/?

+ **dis** show : *diš* show (?) - : 4; *s* = *s*(R); - : (pf)

s /dāiš/

4 *dišāmi* *s ádikṣi* (*dideša* AV)

R *ádīṣta*

Ved. *dikṣ-* does not have the old ablaut. Nart. 140f.

— **dīv** endeavour; or *dyu*?

4 /dīvyanti/? /dyuyanti/?

— **drang** consolidate :

DES /didragžadvail/

+ **druj** deceive : *druh* be hostile (=) 4 = 4; - : *a*; - : pf

4 /drujyant-/

4. *druhyati* B*a druhás**dudróha*— *dvar* hurry :

1 /dvaranta/

+ *fras* ask : *praś* ask (=) *sk* = *sk*; *s* = *s*; - -*sk* /*praś*/*s* /*fraśi*/*sk* *pr̥cchāti**s* *aprāksam*— *frād* increase :1 /*frādantai*/+ *frī* please : *prī* please (=) 9,6n = 9; - : *s* - : pf9 /*frīnāi*/ sub6n /*frīnamna*-/9 *prīṇāti**s* *preṣat* sub*pipriyé*+ *gam* go : *gam* go (=) *sk* = *sk*; R = R (*a*, *s*); - : pf*sk* /*jasat*/R /*jan*, *gman*/*sk* *gácchati*R *ágan**jagáma*(a *ágamat*)(s *agasmahi*)+ *garz* complain : *grh* complain (\pm) 2M,3 = 2M; - -; - -2 /*grzail*, /*grždal*/3 /*jigrzat*/ 3pl2 *gr̥he* (Hoffmann Aufs. 439)+ *gā* go : *gā* go (=) - : 3; R = R - : pfR /*gaṇat*/3 *jīgāti*R *ágāt**jagāyāt* opt+ *grab* grasp : *grabh* seize (=) - : 9 R = R - : pfR /*graham*/9 *gr̥bhñāti*R *ágr̥bhñan**jagrábha*+ *guś* hear : *ghuṣ* (-) - : 1; R, *a* : -; - -R /*gušta*/*a* /*gušata*/ M1 *ghóṣati*+ *hac* follow : *sac* follow (\pm) 1,6r : 1; R, *s* : *s*; - : pf1 /*hacatai*/R /*hacā*, *scantu*/6r /*hiscāmadai*/ YH*s* /*haxšāi*/1 *sácate**s* (a) *sakṣata* 3p*saścúr*+ *had* sit : *sad* sit(?)DES /*hišsat*/

Comparison impossible

+ *hah* sleep? : *sas* sleep (=) 2 = 2; - -; - -2 /*hahmi*/

2 *sásti*

+ *han* earn : *san*ⁱ win, gain (=) - : 8; *a* = *a*; - : pf
a /*hanaḍāni*/ sub

8 *sanóti**a ásanat**sasāna*

? *hap* hold : *sap* serve (—) 2 : 1; - -; - : pf

2 /*hapti*/1 *sápati**sepúr*

+ *hi* bind : *si* bind (=) - : 9; - : R; pf = pf

/hišāya/

9 *sináti*R *sitám* imp.*sišāya*

+ *hū* increase : *sū* impel (—) 9 : 6,2; - : iṣ; - : pf

9 /*hunāti*/2 *sūte*6 *suváti**iṣ ásavīt**sasūva*— *hvar* eat :1 /*hvaramna-*/

+ *i* go : *i* go (=) 2 = 2; - -; - : pf

2 /*aiti*/2 *éti**iyāya*

+ *īs* be able : *īś* be master (=) 2 = 2(1); - -; - : pf

2 /*īsai*/ 3s2 *īṣṭe**īśire*1 *īśate* 3s

+ ¹*iś* desire : *iṣ* desire (=) *sk* : *sk*; - -; - -

sk /*isaya*/ opt. M*sk iccháti*

+ ²*iś* urge, impel : *iṣ* send (=) 4,6 : 4,6,9; - -; - : pf

4 /*išya*/6 /*iśaḍat*/4 *iṣyati**īṣúr*9 *iṣṇáti*6 *iṣánta*

? *iḍ* implore : *īd*? praise *sk* : 2; - -; - : pf

sk /*iśsaḍā*/2 *īḍe**īḍé*

+ *jan* slay : *han* slay (=) 2 : 2; - -; - : pf

2 /*jan*/2 *hánti**jaghāna*

+ *jī* win : *jī* win, conquer (?)

DES /*jījīṣanti*/ 39.1DES *jīgīṣati*

+ *jī* live : *jī* live (=) *va* : *va*; - -; - -

va /jīvāmahi/

va jīvati

+ **kan** enjoy, desire : *kan*ⁱ enjoy (=) 4 : 4; - : s; pf = pf

4 /kāyā/ ind.

/cāxnar/

4 *kāyamana-*

s ākāniṣam

cākanat, caké

+ **kar** make : *kṛ* make (=) 5 : 5(8,2); R : R; - : pf

5 /krnavan/ sub.

R /cart/

5 *kṛṇóti*

R *ákar*

cakāra

8 *karóti*

(2 *karṣi* AV)

+ **man** think : *man* think (=) 4 : 4(8); R,s : R,s; - : pf

4 /manyatai/

R /mantal/

s /manhil/

4 *mānyate*

R -amata

mamnāte 3d

8 *manuté*

s ámaṁsta

? **mang** present with, glorify : ? *mamh* give, bestow (?)

DES /mimagžah/

+ **mar** recite, have in mind : *smṛ* remember (=) 1 : 1; - -; - -

1 /maranti/

1 *smáratī*

+ **marc** destroy : *mṛc* injure (—) 7 : -; s : prec; - -

7 /mrncatai/ 3p ind

s /marxšati/ sub

CS *marcáyati*

s mṛkṣīṣṭá prec.

+ ¹**mard** destroy : *mr(a)d* crush (—) 6n : 1(9); - -; - -

6n /mrndat/ inj.

1 *mrada*

(9 *mṛdnāti* S)

+ ²**mard** neglect : *mṛdh* neglect (=) - : 1,6; R : R(iṣ); - -

R /mardati/ sub

1 *mardhati*

R *mṛdhyās opt.*

6 *mṛdhāti* sub

iṣ mardhiṣat sub

— **marz** destroy:

7 /mrñždyāi/ inf.

+ **maržd** be merciful : *mṛd* be gracious (=) 6 : 6; - -; - -

6 /mrždata/ imp

6 *mṛdāti*

+ **mā** order : *mā* measure (=) 3 : 3; - : R,s; - : pf

3 /mimāṭha/

3 *mímīle, mímāti*

R *māhí imp.*

mamátur

s ámāsi

+ **miθ** rob : *mith* alternate (—) - : 1,2; R : -; - : pf

R /maist/

1 *méthāmasi*, *methete**mimétha*2 *mithatī* f. du.+ *mrū* speak : *brū* speak (=) 2 : 2; - -; - -2 */mraumi/*2 *brāvīti*+ *mruc* dive : *mruc* set (=) 1 : 1; - -; - -1 */mraucans/* ptc1 *mrócati* AV— *nad* abuse :1 */nadant-/* ptc— *narp* wane :6sa */nrfsati/*+ ¹*nas/ans* attain : *naś* /*aśś*/ *aś* /*nakṣ* attain (±) 4 : 1,5sa; R,_sR; -:pf4 */ansya/* impR */asyāt/* opts */naśāma/* sub1 *násati*R *ānaṭ* (*aśyāt āṣṭa* M)*ānāśa*5 *aśnóti*sa *nákṣati*

Ved. *nakṣati* from an *s*-enlargement of the root. Perhaps the starting point was a *sa*-subjunctive, which was probably already PII because of */naśāma/*.

+ ²*nas* disappear : *naś* disappear (±) 4 : 4,1; a(r) : r; pf : pf4 */nasyant-/*a (red) */anansat/**/nanāsa/*4 *násyati*(red. *ánīnaśat*)*nanāśa*1 *násati*+ *nī* lead : *nī* lead (=) - : 1; s : s; - : pfs */naiṣat/* sub1 *náyati*s *naiṣṭa* 2p, *neṣat**nināya*+ *par* fill : *pṛ*/*prā* fill (=) 6n : 6n,9,3; - : R; - : pf6n */prna/*9 *pṛṇāti*R *pūrdhī**paprāu*6n *pṛṇāti*3 *píparti*• On the *s*-aor. see Narten 173.+ *par* cross : *pṛ* pass (—) - : 3; a : s; - -a */fraṇā/*3 *píparti*(s *parṣati* sub)+ *pā* protect : *pā* protect (=) 2 : 2; - -; - -2 */pāt/*2 *pāti*— *piś* see? :4 */piśyanti/*

— **rah** alienate :

INT /raṭṛṣyanti/

CS /rāhayan/

— **rap** support :

1 /rapā/ imp

— **raś** damage :

CS inf /rāśayahai/

+ **rā** grant : **rā** give (=) - : 3; s : s; - : pf

s /rāhahai/ sub

3 **ririhi** imp

s ārāsata, rāsata

rarimā

+ **rād** accomplish : **rādh** succeed (=) - -; R : R; - : pf

R /rādat/ sub

R rādhat sub

rarādha

— **rāθ** cling to :

2 /rāsti/

— **riθ** pervade?

va /raiθvan/ ptc.

+ **rud** lament : **rud** weep (—) (cs) : 2; s : a; - -

CS /rudayata/

s /rausta/

2 **rōditi**

a ārudat (once) AV

+ **rud** hold back : **rudh** obstruct (—) 3 : 7; - : R, a; — : pf

3 /ruraust/

7 **runādhmi**

R arodham

ruródhita

a arudhat

? **rup** cause pain : **rup** break (?) (cs) : 4 - : red; - -

CS /rupayanti/

4 **rúpyati** (B.)

red árūrupat AV

? **sac** learn :? **śak** be able (—) 4 : 5 - : R - : pf

4 /saśyaθa/

5 **śaknóti**

R śákat sub

śaśāka

The lack of agreement might indicate that the roots are not cognate.

+ **sand** seem, please : **chand** seem (=) - : 2; s : s - : pf

s /sāns/

2 **chāntsi**

s áchān

cachānda

+ **sanh** announce : **śams** praise (=) 1 : 1; R : R;

1 /sanhati/

R /sahyāt/ opt

1 **śāmsati**

R śastá 2 pl

— **sar** unite :

1 /sarantai/

s /sārštā/

? **sā** cut down :? **chā** cut off (±) 4 : 4; s : -; - -

4 /syadvam/

s /sāzdvam/ imp

4 **chyāti** AV

+ *sāh* teach : *sās* order (=) 2 : 2; a : a(R); - : pf
 2 /*sāsti*/ a /*sišait*/ opt
 2 *śāsmi* ? R *śāsas* sub *śaśāsa*
 a *śiṣat*

siṣd see *syazd*

+ *spas* perceive : *paś*, *spaś* see (±) 4,5 : 4; - : R; - : pf

4 /*spasyā*/ ind

5 /*spaśnuṭa*/

4 *pāśyati* R *āspaṣta* *paspaśé*

+ *sru* hear : *śru* hear (=) 5 : (5); R,s : R; - : pf

5 /*sruvant-*/ R /*asru(ṣ)dvam*/

s /*srauśānai*/

5 *śṛṇóti* R *āśrot* *śuśráva*

+ *stā* stand : *sthā* stand (±) 1r : 1r; s : R,a; - : pf

1r /*xštati*/ s /*stāhati*/

1r *tīṣṭhati* R *āsthāt* *tastháu*

a *āsthat* AV

+ *stu* praise : *stu* praise (=) 2 : 2; - : s; - : pf

2 /*stāumi*/

2 *stáuti* s *ástoṣta* *tuṣṭáva*

+ *sū* strengthen : *śū* swell (±) aya : aya; - -; - : pf

aya /*suvayah*/ ? inf

aya *śváyant-*

śuśuvúr

+ *suc* flame : *śuc* gleam (?) cś : cs; - -; - : pf

CS /*saucayati*/

CS *śocáyati* *śuśóca*

— *syazd* retreat :

4 /*siṣdyamna-*/ R /*syazdat*/ sub

+ *ši* dwell : *kṣi* dwell (=) 2 : 2,1; - : s; - -

2 /*šaiti*/

2 *kṣéti* s *kṣéṣat* sub

1 *kṣáyati*

+ *šyu* activate : *cyu* move, stir (=) 1 : 1; - : s; - : pf

1 /*šyavatai*/

1 *cyávate* s *acyoṣta* *cucyuvé*

+ *tar* overcome : *tṛ*, *tūrva-* overpower (=) va(ya) : va; - -; - -

va(ya) /*tarv(ay)āma*/ ?

tūrvali

If the emendation to /*tarvāma*/ is correct, the stem agrees with Skt. In any case /*tarvayāma*/ presupposes a stem **tarva-*.

+ *taš* shape : *takṣ* fashion (=) 2 : 2(static); a : a; pf : pf

2 /*tāšt*/ a /*taṣat*/ /*tataša*/

2 *tāṣṭi* a *tákṣati* *tatákṣa*

+ <i>tū</i> be able : <i>tū</i> be strong (=)	2 : 2; - -; - : pf	
2 / <i>tavā</i> / sub		
2 <i>tāvīti</i>		<i>tūtāva</i>
+ <i>θrā</i> protect : <i>trā</i> rescue (=)	4 : 4,2; s : s - : pf	
4 / <i>θrāyadyāi</i> / inf	s / <i>θrāzdvam</i> /	
4 <i>trāyase</i>	s <i>trāsate</i> sub	<i>latré</i>
2 <i>trāsva</i> imp		
— <i>θru</i> nourish :		
	s / <i>θraušta</i> /	
— <i>θvars</i> shape :		
	s / <i>θvarždvam</i> /	
— <i>θvi</i> frighten :		
1 / <i>θvayahī</i> /		
+ <i>vac</i> say : <i>vac</i> say (=)	- : 3; a : a; pf : pf	
	a / <i>vaucat</i> /	/ <i>vauxma</i> /
3 <i>vīvakti</i>	a <i>āvocat</i>	<i>uvāca, vavāca</i>
— <i>vaf</i> eulogize :		
4 / <i>ufyā</i> /		
+ <i>vaina-</i> observe : <i>vena-</i> observe (=)	1 : 1; - -; - -	
1 / <i>vainahi</i> /		
1 <i>vénati</i>		
+ <i>vah</i> be dressed : <i>vas</i> wear (=)	2 : 2; - : iṣ; - : pf	
2 / <i>vastai</i> /		
<i>vāste</i>	(iṣ <i>āvasiṣṭa</i>)	<i>vāvasé</i>
+ <i>van</i> overcome : <i>van</i> win (=)	1 : 1,6,8; s : R,s; pf : pf	
1 / <i>vananti</i> /	s / <i>vāns</i> /	/ <i>vaunar</i> /
1 <i>vánati</i>	R <i>vāmsva</i> imp	<i>vāvāna</i>
8 <i>vanóti</i>	s <i>vaṁsat</i>	
6 <i>vanāti</i>		
— <i>van?</i> wish :		
Or adj. / <i>vanu-</i> /		/ <i>vaunuṣ</i> / ptc?
+ <i>vanc</i> jump : <i>vañc</i> move crookedly (?)		
Only pass. pres. / <i>vaṣyatai</i> /.		
— <i>vap</i> scatter; snatch away; cut down		
1 / <i>vapat</i> /		
+ <i>var</i> choose : <i>vṛ</i> choose (=)	9 : 9; R : R; - : pf	
9 / <i>vrnai</i> /	R / <i>varta</i> /	
9 <i>vṛṇīté</i>	R <i>ávri, ávrta</i>	<i>vavṛmāhe</i>
— <i>var</i> turn :		
5 / <i>vrnavatai</i> / sub	a / <i>vauraṭatai</i> / sub ?	
— <i>var</i> lock in? join, couple? :		
	R / <i>varāni</i> / sub	

+ **vard** grow : *vṛdh* grow (=) 1 : 1; - : a; - : pf

1 /vardati/

1 vārdhati

a ávṛdhat

vavárdha

— **varz** work

4 /vrzyati/

R /varzīma/

/vārvrzai/

s /varśati/

+ **vas** wish : *vaś* desire (=) 2 : 2,1,3; - -; - : pf

2 /vasmil/

2 vaṣṭi

vāvaśúr

1 vāśanti

3 vivaṣṭi

+ **vat** understand : *val* apprehend (±) (cs) : 1(cs); R? : -; - -

CS /vātayāmahī/

R? /(apī)vaṭi/ inj. M.

1 vátema

CS vātáyati

+ **vaxš** grow : *ukṣ*, *vakṣ* grow (±) 4(cs) : 1,6(cs); R : iṣ; - : pf

4 /uxšyati/

R /vaxšt/

CS /-uxšayant-/

1 úkṣant-

(iṣ áukṣīs)

vavakṣa

6 ukṣámāna-

CS ukṣáya-

+ **vid** know : *vid* know (=) - : 2?; - -; pf : pf

/vaidal/

2? vidmās?

véda

+ **vid** find : *vid* find (±) 1,7 : 6n,2; a,s : a,(s); - : pf

7 /vinastī/

s /vaizdvam/

1 /vaidadvam/

a /vidat/

6n vindāti

a ávidat

vivéda

2 vidé

(s avitsi)

The Sanskrit *s*-aor. is an independent innovation.

+ **vid** distribute, serve : *vidh* satisfy (=) - -; a : a; - -

a /vidaṇat/ sub

a vidhát

+ **vis** sich bereitstellen : *viś* enter (=) 6 : 6; - : R,s; - : pf

6 /visantai/

6 viśāti

R áviśran

vivéśa

s ávikṣmahi

+ **vižd** raise (a weapon) : *vīḍ* make firm (—) 1 : aya; - -; - -

1 /vaiždat/

aya vīḍáyati (Mayrh. s.v. *vīḍúh*)

+ **vraj** walk : *vraj* proceed (?) - : 1; s : (i)s; - : pf

s /vrāxšat/ 3 pl

1 *vrājata* imp (i)s *avrājīt* (B) *vavrāja*
 Narten 251 considers *avrājīt* as an old *s*-aorist of a *seṭ* root.

— *vrāz* be glad:

+ *xrap* angemessen sein : *klp* be adapted (±) */vavrāzaθa/* sub
 1 */xrapati/* 1 : 1; - -; - : pf

1 *kālpate* *cāklpūr*
 + *xrud* make/become afraid : *krudh* be angry (—) - : 4; R : a; - -
 R */xraudati/* sub

4 *krúdhyati* *a krudhas*
 + *xrus* scream : *kruś* cry out (=) 1 : 1; - : sa; - -
 1 */xrausantiām/*

1 *króśati* *sa akrukṣati*
 + *xsā* observe : *kśā* reports (—) - : 2; a : -; - : pf
 a */xsaṇāi/*

2 *kśāti* *cakśe*
 + *xśā* rule : *kṣā* rule, possess (±) *aya* : *aya*; a : -; - -
aya /xśayahil/ a */xśaita/* opt

aya kṣáyati
 + *xśnā* get to know : *jñā* know (=) 9 : 9; - : R,s; - : pf
 9 */zānta/* imp

9 *jānāti* R *jñeyās* *jajñáu*
s ajñāsthās AV

— *xśnu* satisfy :

2 */xśnavīša/* opt *s /xśnāuš/*
sa /xśnauśamna-/ ptc

+ *yam* hold : *yam* hold (=) *sk* : *sk*; R : R,s; - : pf
sk /yasail/ R */yanta/* inj M

sk yácchati R *áyamur* *yayāma*
s áyāmsam

+ *yat* line up : *yat* place (in the right position) (=) - : 1; - : R; pf:pf
/yaiθma/

1 *yátati* R *yátāná-* *yetiré*

+ *yaz* adore : *yaj* sacrifice (=) 1 : 1; - : s; - : pf

1 */yazatai/*

1 *yájati* *s ayašta* M *ījé, (yejé* AV)

+ *yā* long for : *yā* request, implore (±) 3,sk : 3,2; - : siṣ; - -

3 */iṇai/*

sk /yāsā/

3 *iye*

2 *yāti* *siṣ ayāsiṣam*

+ <i>yuj</i> yoke : <i>yuj</i> join (=)	- : 7; R : R; - : pf	
	R / <i>yaugt</i> /	
7 <i>yunákti</i>	R <i>áyujī</i>	<i>yuyója</i>
+ <i>zar</i> be angry : <i>hē</i> be angry (=)	6n : 9; - -; - -	
	6n / <i>zarnaima</i> /	
9 <i>hṛnīté</i>		
+ <i>zā</i> win : <i>hā</i> leave (±)	3 : 3; R : s; - : pf	
3 / <i>zazat</i> / 3pl.	R / <i>zaima</i> / opt	
3 <i>jáhāti</i>	s <i>ahās</i> 3 sg	<i>jahā</i>
+ <i>zi</i> abandon : <i>hi</i> impel (=)	- : 5; R : R; - : (pf)	
	R / <i>zayaθa</i> / sub	
5 <i>hinóti</i>	R <i>ahéma</i>	(<i>jighāya</i> B)
Uncertain. Also taken as pres. of <i>zā</i> .		
+ <i>zū</i> call : <i>hū</i> , <i>hvā</i> call (=)	<i>aya</i> : <i>aya</i> , 3; - : R,a,s; - : pf	
	<i>aya</i> / <i>zuḍayā</i> /	
<i>aya hváyati</i>	R <i>áhūmahī</i>	<i>juvhé</i>
3 <i>juhūmās</i>	a <i>áhvat</i>	
	s <i>ahūṣata</i>	

18. Reverse index of verbal roots

18.1. Reverse index of Gathic verbal roots

¹ <i>dā</i> give, put	<i>hac</i>	¹ <i>mard</i> destroy	¹ <i>ah</i> be
² <i>dā</i> distribute	<i>sac</i>	² <i>mard</i> neglect	² <i>ah</i> throw
³ <i>dā</i> bind	<i>vac</i>	<i>vard</i>	<i>hah</i>
<i>gā</i>	<i>vanc</i>	<i>bud</i>	<i>rah</i>
<i>mā</i>	<i>marc</i>	¹ <i>rud</i>	<i>vah</i>
<i>xšnā</i>	<i>mruc</i>	² <i>rud</i>	<i>sāh</i>
<i>pā</i>	<i>suc</i>	<i>xrud</i>	<i>danh</i>
<i>rā</i>		<i>ižd</i>	<i>sanh</i>
<i>θrā</i>	<i>ad</i>	<i>sižd</i> , <i>syazd</i>	
<i>sā</i>	<i>had</i>	<i>vižd</i>	
<i>xsā</i>	<i>nad</i>	<i>maržd</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>xšā</i>	<i>rād</i>		<i>ci</i>
<i>stā</i>	<i>frād</i>	<i>vaf</i>	<i>di</i>
<i>yā</i>	¹ <i>vid</i> know		<i>hi</i>
<i>zā</i>	² <i>vid</i> find	<i>g</i> cf. <i>j</i>	<i>ji</i>
	³ <i>vid</i> distribute	<i>mang</i>	<i>ši</i>
<i>dab</i>	<i>sand</i>	<i>drang</i>	<i>θvi</i>
<i>grab</i>	<i>ard</i>	<i>aug</i>	<i>zi</i>

<i>bī</i>	<i>xrap</i>	<i>īs</i>	<i>dbu</i>
<i>jī</i>	<i>vap</i>	<i>dis</i>	<i>dyu, dīv</i>
<i>nī</i>	<i>āp</i>	<i>vis</i>	<i>xšnu</i>
<i>frī</i>	<i>narp</i>	<i>dars</i>	<i>sru</i>
	<i>rup</i>	<i>θvars</i>	<i>θru</i>
<i>j</i> cf. <i>g</i>		<i>xrus</i>	<i>stu</i>
<i>baj</i>	<i>ar</i>		<i>šyu</i>
<i>vraj</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>raš</i>	<i>av, ū</i>
<i>arj</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>taš</i>	<i>dav, dū</i>
<i>druj</i>	<i>kar</i>	¹ <i>iš</i> desire	
<i>yuj</i>	<i>mar</i>	² <i>iš</i> urge	<i>bū</i>
	¹ <i>par</i> fill	<i>dbiš</i>	<i>hū</i>
<i>k</i> see <i>c</i>	² <i>par</i> cross	<i>ciš</i>	<i>mrū</i>
	<i>sar</i>	<i>piš</i>	<i>sū</i>
<i>gam</i>	<i>tar</i>	<i>guš</i>	<i>tū</i>
<i>yam</i>	¹ <i>var</i> choose	<i>būš</i>	<i>zū</i>
	² <i>var</i> turn	<i>daxš</i>	
<i>ban</i>	³ <i>var</i> lock in	<i>vaxš, uxš</i>	<i>yaz</i>
<i>han</i>	<i>dvar</i>		<i>āz</i>
<i>jan</i>	<i>hvar</i>	<i>vat?</i>	<i>vrāz</i>
<i>kan</i>	<i>zar</i>	<i>yat</i>	<i>dbanz</i>
<i>man</i>		<i>cit</i>	<i>darz</i>
¹ <i>van</i> overcome	¹ <i>nas</i> attain		<i>garz</i>
² <i>van?</i> wish	² <i>nas</i> disappear	<i>rāθ</i>	<i>marz</i>
	<i>spas</i>	<i>ciθ</i>	<i>varz</i>
<i>hap</i>	<i>fras</i>	<i>miθ</i>	
<i>rap</i>	<i>vas</i>	<i>riθ</i>	

18.2 Total number of roots in:

<i>k, c</i> 7	<i>g, j</i> 3, 5		
<i>t</i> 3	<i>d</i> 21	<i>θ</i> 4	
<i>p</i> 7	<i>b</i> 2	<i>f</i> 1	
<i>s</i> 11	<i>z</i> 8	<i>š</i> 11	<i>h</i> 8
<i>r</i> 15	<i>m</i> 2	<i>n</i> 7	
<i>i</i> 8	<i>u, v</i> 9		
<i>ī</i> 4	<i>ū</i> 6		
<i>ā</i> 15			

Roots that ended in a laryngeal are:
those in $-\bar{a}$, $-\bar{i}$, $-\bar{u}$;
those in $-\theta$;
 ${}^1p\bar{a}r$, ${}^1v\bar{a}r$ choose, $z\bar{a}r$;
 $h\bar{a}n$, $k\bar{a}n$, ${}^1v\bar{a}n$ win;
 av/\bar{u} , $dav/d\bar{u}$.

CORRECTIONS TO THE INDEX GIVEN BY MONNA

Some minor misprints are not noted, especially the omission of diacritics which can be seen in related forms given.

aeśasa- and *aeśa-*: invert

ah- /*āhva*/ 1 du. imf.

Add: ²*ah-* throw; root aor. *ah-*

as /*as*/ 2 sg. inj. 34.8a, c

aṇhat /*aḥat*/ 3 sg. sub. 44.19d,e

anhayā: *aṇhayā*; s.v. *hāly*)-: s.v. *hā(y)*-.

aṇhu- /*ahuvāh*/

apāma- after *a.* add: *apivaiti* see *vat-*

ar- pres. *arə-*, *īra-*: delete *arə-*, read *īr-*, *īra-*

paitī.arətē inf. or noun

/uz i:ɾdyāi/

add: *urvānē* /*rvanai*/? inf.?

aśa- read *arta-* everywhere, also in the following words

aśavan- *aśaonō*: *aśāunō*

aśaunō: *aśaonō*

aśi- *aśiś*

avā to, towards: down, off

azēm azē: *azē*

azi-: *azī-*

ā 43.3d delete (2 ×); reconstructed in other forms (*avaēnatā*, forms of *i-*)

ā.hōiθōi see *hā-*: see *ā.hōiθa-* and *hi-* (invert with *ā.hōiθa-*)

aiθi- *aiθiści*

ā.manayhā-: *ā.manayha-*

ārəzva- /*ārzava*/

ārmaiti- *ārmatois*

ā.sənda-: *ā.sānda-*

āz- /*īzya-*/

būri-: *būiri-* (to be placed before *būj-*); gen. sg. n.

ciś- *cinas* delete 32.5c

cəviśī 3 sg. pass. aor.

cəviśtā 2 pl. inj. aor.

ciθ- add: *cinas* 32.5c

dab- /*dbnauta*/?

dābayeiti 3 sg. ind.

daēnā- /*dayanā-*/

daršti- /dṛṣṭaiṣ/

dā- Aor. imp. *dā(s-)*: Aor. inj.

Pres. ptc.: Aor. ptc.

dāmi- *dāmīm*

dābāz- pres. *dābāza-*; 3 sg. ind. pres.

dājīl-arāta- /dājīlarta-/

dis- *dōiṣā* 1 sg. subj.

dōiṣī 2 sg. imp.

duṣṣarāṭri- acc. pl. m.

duṣṣdaēna- put before *duṣṣdāh-*

āāvā read: adv. down

arāṭwa- *arāṭwō*

avisti-

fra delete *frā*, *fāra*: delete 30.5c, 49.8d

fraxśnin- m.: or n.

frāxśnāna- adj.: acc. sg. n.

frī-

fsarātū- /fsratuam/

gam- *jānghalicā*

garāz- *jīgarāz-* (twice)

grāham- Ins. *grāhmah-* n. wealth, adj. rich (**grāhmā* for *grāhmā*)

hac- *scantū* imp. root aor.

haxśāi s-aor.

haurv(at)āt- *haurvāscā*

hāra- before *h.* insert: *hāma-* see *hama-*

i- *āyōi* see *yā-*

idūm see *yā-*

/ā yantam/

add: see *iṣa-*

is- delete *isōyā*, *isāmnō*

¹*iṣ-*, ²*iṣ-*, ³*iṣ-* read as follows:

¹*iṣ-* desire: pres. *isa-* (Skt. *icchāti*)

isōyā /isaya/ 1 sg. opt. med. 43.8b

isāmnō /isamnah/ ptc. 46.6a

²*iṣ-* set in motion;

pres. *iṣa-* (Skt. *iṣe*)

iṣāntī /iṣanti/ 3 pl. ind. 46.9e

iṣāt /iṣaṭat/ 3 sg. sub. 44.2c

iṣānti /iṣaṭanti/ 3 pl. sub. 45.7a

pres. *iṣya-* (Skt. *iṣyati*)

fraēṣyā /fra iṣyā/ 1 sg. ind. 49.6a

iṣa- desid. of *i-* go (Skt. *iṣati*); **Hi-Hi-sa-*

išaθā /išaθa/ 2 pl. ind. 45.1b

išantō /išantah/ ptc. 30.1a, 47.6d

išya- iṣyam 51.7b: 17b

jōya-

ka- kē 29.1d: 1a; 44.5b/d: 5bcd; 46.14a/b: 14b; 49.5c: delete 5c

kaṭ delete 28.5a, 48.2c, 50.1a (see s.v. *kaṭ*)

katāra- before *k.* add: *kaṭ* interrog. particle 28.5a, 48.2c, 50.1a

ma- mah'yā /mahyāh/

manah- manahicā

maraka-

marəxtar-

maša- replace: *mašā* 29.11a, read **mām* **ašā* Ins.

mazdā- mazdāscā nom. pl.: sg.

,, voc. pl.: sg.

māh- /maah/

maqθrān-

mərəc- mərəngəduyē /mṛngdvai/ delete (subj.)

miθ- mōist: mōist

mošū /mašū ca/

¹*nas-* delete: red-aor. *naša-*

naṣat /naṣat/ 3 sg. sub. root aor.

paouruya- paouruyē 44.11a: 11d

paru- delete; add after *par-*: *parao-* see *pouru-*

pəratu- pəratā /pṛtāu/

plar- fədrōi /fθrai/

rah- /ra:ṛšyanti/, /ra:ṛšyaan/

rārəša- /ra:ṛšah/

sənghu-

spilama- /spitamāhah/

sru- sərəošanē pres.: aor.

sruyē delete: (or...med)

syazd- /siždyamnā/

šyaoθana- /šyauθna-/ everywhere

θru- θraoštā 2 pl: 3 sg. med.

urvan- urvānē add: Hu. inf. of *ar-*

uruāz- med.: act.

urvāzā /vṛāzā/

ušti- /uštīš/

var- /varta/ twice, */varmadi/*

vasah- after *v.* add: *vasā*, *-ō* adv. at will

vasā /vasah/ 43.1b, 50.9c

vasō ,, 31.19b, 32.15b

važdra-

vərazāna- *vərazānah'yā* delete 46.1c and add 46.1c to *vərazānā*

²*vid-* read: pres. *vinad-*, *vaēda-*, intens. *vōivīd-*, a-aor. *vīda-*, s-aor. *vōis-*
add: *vōizdyāi* inf. s-aor. 43.13c

vīs- read: pres. *vīsa-*

subj.: ind. pres. (twice)

xsā- āxsō med.: act.

xšā- xšayəhi- *-ehī*

xšāntā subj. pres.: inj. aor.

xšāntam pres.: aor.

xšnā- pres. *zān-*: *zānā-/zān-*

x^vaēta- */hva:itah/*

x^vāpaiθya- */hvapaθyāt/*

x^vīli- *x^vīlicā*

yam- **hām.yāsaitē /ham yasatai/*

yā- add: red. pres. */iʔ-/*

āyōi /ā iʔai/ 1 sg. ind. 31.2b

idūm /īdvam/ 2 pl. imp. 33.7a

yauždāh- read: *yaoždā-*

yuj- read (only): aor. *yaog/j-*, *yug/j-*

zar- */zarnaima/*

zava- n.: m.

zū- *zbayā* subj.: ind.

INDEXES

So as to facilitate the use of the indexes two 'keys' are given here, one from the forms of the manuscript to the phonemic notation, and one *vice versa*.

1. From the text to the phonemic transcription

text	phonemic transcription
<i>a</i>	<i>a</i> ; <i>ā</i> sometimes (no rule)
<i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i> ; <i>a</i> sometimes (no rule)
<i>ā̇</i> (= <i>ā̇</i>)	<i>aʔah</i> (<i>hudābyō</i>)
<i>ānt</i>	<i>aʔant</i>
<i>āṇh</i>	<i>āh</i>
<i>-ā̇</i>	<i>-āh</i> ; <i>-āu</i> (<i>xratā</i> , <i>pəratā</i>)
<i>ās</i>	<i>ās</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>an</i> before <i>s</i> , <i>z</i> , <i>θ</i> <i>ā</i> before <i>-m</i> , <i>-n</i> <i>ā</i> before <i>m</i> , <i>-n</i> (rarely) <i>a</i> , <i>ā</i> before <i>nm</i>
<i>arqš</i>	<i>rnš</i>
<i>b</i> , <i>β</i>	<i>b</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>c</i>
<i>d</i> , <i>δ</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>a</i> after <i>y</i> before <i>i</i> , <i>ē</i> , <i>y</i> , <i>c</i> or <i>j</i> in the next syllable
<i>ē</i>	<i>-ai</i>
<i>-yē</i>	<i>-yā</i> (<i>paouruyē</i> / <i>parviyā</i> /)
<i>aē</i>	<i>ai</i>
<i>ə</i>	<i>i</i> (<i>zəmo</i>), <i>u</i> (<i>drəgvant</i>)
<i>ən</i> , <i>əm</i>	<i>an</i> , <i>am</i>
<i>CəC</i>	<i>CC</i>
<i>əvī</i>	<i>avi</i> (<i>ai</i> in <i>cəvīš-</i>)
<i>ərə</i>	<i>r</i>
<i>ā̇-</i>	zero
<i>-ə</i>	zero (rarely)
<i>ā̇</i>	<i>aʔa</i> (<i>xyām</i> , <i>strām-</i>); <i>a</i> (<i>vāstā</i> , <i>vālāyāmahi</i>)
<i>ā̇-</i>	zero
<i>āh-</i>	<i>ah</i> (rarely)
<i>ām</i> , <i>ān</i>	<i>am</i> , <i>an</i>
<i>āngh</i>	see sub <i>g</i>
<i>-āng</i>	see sub <i>g</i>

$\bar{a}u$	<i>au</i>
$-\bar{a}$	<i>-ah</i>
$-\bar{r}\bar{a}$	<i>-r</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
$\bar{a}ngh$	<i>anh</i>
$-\bar{a}ng$	<i>-anh</i>
<i>nghv</i>	<i>hv</i>
<i>ngr</i>	<i>hr</i> (<i>angra-</i> , <i>dangra-</i>)
γ	<i>g</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>ngh</i>	see sub <i>g</i>
<i>h'</i>	see <i>x'</i>
<i>h^v</i>	see <i>x^v</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i> ; \bar{i} sometimes (no rule)
\bar{i}	\bar{i} ; <i>i</i> sometimes (no rule)
<i>j, k, l</i>	<i>j, k, l</i>
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$\eta hu, \eta uh, (n)\eta hv$	<i>hv</i>
$\bar{a}(n)\eta h$	<i>anh</i>
$\acute{\eta}$ $-\acute{\eta}h\bar{e}$	<i>hai</i>
η^v	not Gathic
<i>o</i>	<i>a</i> (after labial before a syllable with <i>u</i>)
<i>ao</i>	<i>au</i>
\bar{o}	<i>a</i> (no rule); \bar{a} (rarely); zero (for <i>a</i> , \bar{a} ; irregular)
$\bar{o}i$	<i>ai</i>
$\bar{o}ya$	<i>aya</i>
$-\bar{o}$	<i>-ah</i> ; <i>-a</i> (<i>frō</i> , <i>apō</i> , <i>avō</i>); <i>-a-</i> (in split words); $-\bar{a}u$ (<i>paratō</i>)
<i>p, r, s</i>	<i>p, r, s</i>
\acute{s} (= \acute{s})	\acute{s}
\check{s}	\check{s}
\acute{s} (= \acute{s})	$\acute{r}t$, $\acute{r}t$
<i>t, t̃</i>	<i>t</i>
θ	θ
<i>u</i>	<i>u</i> ; \bar{u} sometimes (no rule)
\bar{u}	\bar{u} ; <i>u</i> sometimes (no rule)
<i>v</i> (= <i>uu</i>)	<i>v</i> ; <i>u?</i> (no rule)
<i>w</i>	see β

<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>xy</i>	<i>hy'</i>
<i>xv</i>	<i>hv(-), huɔ-</i> (no rule)
<i>y (= ii)</i>	<i>y; iɔ</i> (no rule)
<i>z ž</i>	<i>z, ž</i>

2. From the transcription to the text

phon. transcr. text

<i>a</i>	<i>a; ā</i> sometimes (no rule) <i>e</i> (after <i>y</i> before <i>i, ē, y, c, j</i> in the next syllable) <i>o</i> (after labial before <i>u</i> in the next syllable); <i>ō</i> (rarely) <i>ā</i> (<i>vāstā, vātāyāmahi</i>)
<i>-a</i>	<i>-ō, (frō, apō, avō)</i>
<i>aɔa</i>	see <i>ā, ā</i> (<i>hudābyō</i>); <i>ā</i> (<i>xyām, strām-</i>);
<i>aɔant</i>	<i>ānt</i>
<i>aha</i>	<i>aḡha</i>
<i>ah</i>	<i>āh</i> (before consonant; rarely)
<i>-ah</i>	<i>-ō; ā</i> (rarely)
<i>ai</i>	<i>aē</i> (mostly in open syllables); <i>ōi</i> (mostly in closed syllables); <i>-ē; avi</i> (<i>cauīš-</i>)
<i>am, an</i>	<i>ām, ān; a</i> (before <i>s, z, θ</i>)
<i>anh</i>	<i>ānḡh; ā(n)ḡh</i> (rarely)
<i>-anh</i>	<i>-ānḡ</i>
<i>anm</i>	<i>anm</i>
<i>au</i>	<i>ao; āu</i> (gen. sg. <i>-āuš</i>)
<i>-avan</i>	<i>-aon</i>
<i>avi</i>	<i>avi</i>
<i>aya</i>	<i>ōya</i> (rarely)
<i>-ayam</i>	<i>-aēm</i>
<i>ā</i>	<i>ā; a</i> sometimes (no rule); <i>ō</i> (rarely)
<i>āh</i>	<i>āḡh</i>
<i>-āh</i>	<i>-ā</i>
<i>ām, ān</i>	<i>am, an</i> (rarely)
<i>-ām, -ān</i>	<i>-am, -an</i>
<i>ānm</i>	<i>anm</i>
<i>ās</i>	<i>ās; ās</i> (rarely)
<i>-āu</i>	<i>-āu; -ā, -ō</i> (rarely)
<i>-yā</i>	<i>-yā; yē</i> (<i>paouruyē</i>)
<i>b</i>	<i>b; β</i> (after <i>θ</i> ; before <i>ž</i>)
<i>c</i>	<i>c</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>d; δ</i> (after <i>x, f</i>)
<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>

<i>g</i>	<i>g</i> ; <i>γ</i> (before <i>ž</i>)
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>
- <i>hai</i>	- <i>ḡhē</i>
<i>hr</i>	<i>ngr</i> (<i>angra</i> -, <i>dangra</i> -)
<i>hv</i>	<i>nghv</i> , <i>ḡhu</i> , <i>ḡuh</i> , (<i>n</i>) <i>ḡhv</i> ; <i>x^v</i> (rarely)
<i>hv</i> -	<i>x^v</i> -
<i>hy</i> '	<i>xy</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i> ; <i>ī</i> sometimes (no rule); <i>ə</i> (<i>zəmō</i>)
<i>iʔ</i>	<i>y</i>
<i>iyam</i>	<i>iyam</i> , <i>īm</i>
<i>ī</i>	<i>ī</i> ; <i>i</i> sometimes (no rule)
<i>j</i> , <i>k</i> , <i>l</i>	<i>j</i> , <i>k</i> , <i>l</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>m</i> ; <i>m̥</i> (after <i>h</i>)
<i>n</i>	<i>n</i> ; <i>ṅ</i> (before <i>i</i> , <i>y</i>); <i>n̥</i> (before stop)
<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>
<i>CrC</i>	<i>CərəC</i>
<i>Crnš</i>	<i>Cərəš</i>
<i>rt</i> , <i>rt</i>	<i>ʃ</i> (= <i>š</i>)
<i>rt</i>	<i>hr</i> (before <i>k</i> , <i>p</i>)
<i>-r</i>	- <i>rə</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>ś</i>	<i>ś</i> (= <i>š</i>)
<i>š</i>	<i>š</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>t</i> ; <i>t̥</i> (word finally except after <i>s</i> , <i>š</i>)
<i>θ</i>	<i>θ</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>u</i> ; <i>ū</i> sometimes (no rule); <i>ə</i> (<i>dragvant</i> -)
<i>uʔ</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>huʔ</i> -	<i>hv</i> -, <i>x^v</i> - (sometimes)
<i>ū</i>	<i>ū</i> ; <i>u</i> sometimes (no rule)
<i>v</i>	<i>v</i> (= <i>uu</i>)
<i>-vai</i>	- <i>vōi</i> , <i>uyē</i>
<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>y</i>	<i>y</i> (= <i>iṽ</i>)
<i>z</i> , <i>ž</i>	<i>z</i> , <i>ž</i>

3. Gatha-Avestan

Words are given in the form of the texts, with the phonemic transcription. (If the phonemic transcription is identical with the form of the text, it has not been given.) From verbs the root is given, with all stems occurring. The words in the lists on pp. 116ff have not been included (the lists are—retrograde—alphabetic themselves).

The order is that of the Latin alphabet, as follows: *a ā ǎ a b β c d δ e ē a/ā f g γ h i/ī j k m n y o/ō p r s š ʃ t ʈ θ u/ū v w x xʷ y z ž*. Note that *ā* follows *a*, but that with the other vowels length is disregarded.

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